

18
A N C I E N T
A C C O U N T S

O F

INDIA and *CHINA*,

B Y T W O

MOHAMMEDAN TRAVELLERS.

Who went to those Parts in the *9th Century*;

Translated from the *ARABIC*,

By the late Learned

EUSEBIUS RENAUDOT.

With Notes, *Illustrations* and *Inquiries* by the same Hand.



L O N D O N :

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M DCC XXXIII

AN
ACCOUNT

OF
J. W. D. Y. and C. W. Y. M.

BY
J. W. D. Y. and C. W. Y. M.

Jos: Banks

LONDON

PRINTED

TO
HENRY KELSALL, Esq;

THIS
E D I T I O N

IS
Most respectfully Dedicated
and Inscribed by

The English Translator.

TO

THE NEW KESSALLS

THIS

EDITION

IS

Most respectfully Dedicated

and Inscribed by

The English Travellers

THE
PREFACE.

IT seemed to me that the Accounts of *The Anti-*
India and China I here present to the *quity of the*
 Public, deserved to be retrieved from the *Manu-*
 Obscurity they have hitherto been in; not *scripts*
 only because they are written in a very fo- *which con-*
 reign Tongue, but also because the Original *tain these*
 Manuscript, which is in the *Comte de*
Seignelay's Library, seems to be the only
 one of its kind. Its Age may be suffici-
 ently ascertained by the Character it is in;
 but we have a plain Proof that it was writ-
 ten in the Year of the *Hejra* DLXIX, or
 the Year of *Christ* MCLXXIII: For at
 the End there are some Observations, of
 the same Hand, upon the Extent and Cir-
 cumference of the Walls and Towers of
Damascus, and other Cities in subjection
 to Soltan *Nuroddin*, so famous in the Wars
 Beyond-sea; and the Writer speaks of
 him as if then living. Now this Prince
 dyed in the Year above, and so the Ma-
 nuscript must be about 550 Years old.

But we may be satisfied that our two *At what*
 Authors are more ancient, and that the *Time they*
were writ-
 ten.

two Dates they give, the one of the Year CCXXXVII of the *Hejra*, which is that of our first Traveller, and the other of the Year of the same CCLIV, when a great Revolution hapned in *China*, are true and just: And these two Dates, correspond with the Years of *Christ* DCCCLI and DCCCLXVII.

They are much older than Marco Polo.

Every body knows that *Marco Polo*, the *Venetian*, was the first that talked to us of *China* with any Knowledge, and that what he writes was formerly much questioned, because of the seemingly incredible Wonders he relates, many of which have been since confirmed for Truths. Now *Marco Polo* returned from his Travels in the Year of *Christ* MCCXCV, whence it follows that our *Arabs* were four hundred Years before him; and as every Thing, we have of the kind, is posterior to him, these Accounts must be far more ancient than what others have penned. Nor will we except any of the *Arabian* and *Persian* Travellers, or Geographers that have written in either Tongue, who have been too partially set forth by some learned Men of our own Times, and very far beyond what they deserve.

The Nubian Geography beholden to them for many Things.

The *Geography* commonly called of *Nubia*, and supposed to be the Work of the *Sharif al Edrisi*, which was produced in *Sicily*, and which many Authors call *The Book of Roger*, because it was undertaken at the Command of *Roger II.* King of *Sicily*; is the most ancient we have; and is divided

divided into Climates after the manner of *Ptolomey*, whom the *Arabs* had translated in their Tongue; almost all the *Eastern Geographies* are methodised by the same Plan; but it affords you no Positions no more than most of the rest, if we except the Geography of *Abulfeda*, to be resumed hereafter. But this *Nubian Geography* containing the most curious Particulars we read in the Authors that have appeared since, whether as to natural History, or the Customs and Manners of different Nations, we may safely pronounce it to have been pillaged by later Compilers: And very remarkable it is That this *Nubian Geographer*, whosoever he was, is beholden to our two Authors for most of what he relates concerning the Navigation of the *Eastern Ocean*, of the *Indies*, and of *China*, which alone may evince them to have been of the highest Antiquity among the Writers of their own Nation.

But we do not by this mean to extend the Merit of these two Accounts beyond due Bounds; we are ready to allow them to contain some fabulous Particulars, and many so very obscure that there is no clearing them up; and also that their want of Positions frustrates the Use we might otherwise have made of the Descriptions they give us. But these Disadvantages, which they have in common with all the *Arabian Geographers*, are amply compensated by a very great number of

They have some Blemishes and Defects, but they inform us of some very important Things.

Among others, the old Course steered for China.

curious Things they tell us, and which are scarce to be met with elsewhere.

One of their chief Remarkables is the Course the *Arabs* and the *Persians* formerly steered from *Bassora* and *Siraf* to the *Indies* and *China*; and inversely the Course steered by the *Chinese* for *Arabia* and *Persia*. Many of the Learned who thought with *Martini* That the *Chinese* sailed by the direction of the Compass as far as *Ceylon*, and there planted a Colony, have persuaded others That this Voyage was performed by Observation. And hence they concluded it almost impossible but the active and industrious *Arabs* must have borrowed the useful Invention from the *Chinese*, and have applied it in their long Runs; it appearing by History that they sailed great Lengths, long before the *Portuguese* discovered the *Eastern* Parts. Such was the Opinion of the late Mr. *Thevenot*, who knew nothing of our two Authors, and who being very much prepossessed in favor of the *Chinese*, concurred with *Martini* That they had had the Use of the Compass, and that they had sailed to the Island of *Ceylon*, and even much farther; while *Vossius* insists on the same, as a Fact not in the least to be doubted, tho' he does not vouchsafe us the least Proof to countenance his Assertion. Our Authors so plainly and circumstantially observe to us That the *Indian* and *Chinese* Ships did not stir beyond *Siraf*, that we cannot but submit to them, and especially as

as they, at the same time, acquaint us They dared not go farther, because their Vessels were unable to stand the Assaults of the open Sea: But it is not because our two Authors make no mention of the Compass That we venture to affirm the *Chinese* and *Arabians* knew nothing of it; we have other Arguments not to be resisted: But tho' we had no other way of proving this Ignorance upon them, the Course they steered would sufficiently declare it; they forsaking it as too tedious and dangerous, as soon as they came to have the Compass.

In these Accounts also we have many curious Observables upon *China*, which agree with *Marco Polo*, and are even confirmed by the most sincere Travellers of later Times: If others there are which clash with what we elsewhere read, they ought not for that Reason alone to be mistrusted, since great Alterations have befallen that Country in the long Course of eight hundred Years or upwards. By the *Lights Martini* conveys to us in his *Chinese Atlas*, we discover the Truth of many Things that before appeared fabulous in *Marco Polo*; and the same may hereafter be discovered of the doubtful Things in our Authors.

They contain many remarkable Things which are confirmed by late Travellers.

Martini is the first that told us The great Cities of *China* had often changed their Names; and very possible it is that the Names in our two Authors may have obtained in their Time; and tho' they are defective in Positions, we presently know them

them by the Observations the *Europeans* have made ; for it is in vain to look for them in the *Arabian* Writings ; tho' a contrary Opinion has taken such deep Root among us, that it is seemingly a Rashness to dispute the Point. *John Baptist Ramusio*, a Man of great Judgment and very extensive Learning, having seen a small Part of *Abulfeda's* Geography, and therein observed the Names of some Places mentioned by *Marco Polo*, conceived a very great Veneration for the Work. *Castaldo* made use of it also for several Positions ; and *Schickard* cited some parts of it, and promised a Translation of the whole. *Greaves* a learned *Englishman* actually translated it, and published two of the *Climates*. *Thevenot* attempted the Thing after him, but dying, the Copy of his Version fell into foreign Hands. All the Learned, and, upon what they have said, all that were Strangers to the Oriental Tongues, have fed up the Public with the excessive Commendations they have bestowed on *Abulfeda's* Work, tho' often without knowing why or wherefore. *Andrew Muller* who printed *Marco Polo* in *Latin* with tedious Dissertations, and particularly one upon *Cathay* or *Catai*, regrets a Work *Schickard* had promised, concerning *Tartary* and *China*, which he was to have extracted from *Abulfeda*, and was to have been like his *Tarich Regum Persiæ*.

What we
are to judge
of the Work
Schickard
promised.

The Public may possibly think it a great Disappointment that *Schickard* did not

not print this Work, or translate *Abulfeda*, according to his Word; and it must be most readily believed, after so many learned Orientalists have said it, That the Geography of this Author would completely illustrate *Marco Polo*, and afford us a fair Prospect of *China*, as *Muller* will have it. We happen to live in an Age that has been most minutely and almost triflingly inquisitive into what concerns the Lives and Writings of the Learned: But as it is seldom these Compilers consult any Thing farther than what is contained in Prefaces, and are perfect Strangers both to the Books and Authors mentioned, it may not be amiss to say what is true of *Schickard*, and afterwards of *Abulfeda*.

Schickard, who was a Professor in the University of *Tubingen*, got a large Share of Reputation by a Work he intitled *Tarich Regum Persiæ*; which took Birth from the Discovery of a Genealogy written upon a long Scroll, which began with *Adam*, and ended with a *Mohamedan* Prince who had had it done; this *Schickard* took for a very great Curiosity, tho' nothing in the World is less so. He copied the Names, which he often read mistakenly enough, and having collected all that could relate to those Princes; when he comes to the Kings of *Persia*, he does not say a Word of them that he does not borrow from *Teixeira*, a *Portuguese* Author who writes from the *Persian*

An Account of
Schickard's first
Work.

Persian Histories with the greatest Fidelity: To this he adds some Citations from the Book intitl'd *Fukhassin*, which has many Curious Particulars of Oriental History, some Passages from the *Arabian* Geography, but nothing Original. We are sure he had not the least Knowledge of the Authors that wrote this History, which is quite Fabulous, if we except what is said of the latter Kings; and we need only read *Teixeira*, or the Translated Abridgment of the *Persian* Histories called *Leb Towarick*, in the fourth Volume of the late Mr. *Thevenot's* Collection, by *Gaulmin*; to be convinced of the little value of *Schickard's* Work, and how unequal he was to the task of writing the History of the *Jenghiz-khanid Tartars*, he ventured to Promise.

He also
promised to
translate
Abulfeda.

Most certain it is also that he in like Manner promised to Translate *Abulfeda*; but *Greaves*, who, by the Report of those who knew him, was a very worthy Man, not caring to join with *Schickard* in the Undertaking, wrote to him about it. To which he answered, That the Manuscript in the *Vienna* Library, was so obscure that it was absolutely impossible to translate it: He copied it however, and his Copy being afterwards purchased in *Germany*, is now in the King's Library; annexed to it there is part of the Work translated, which requires no great Perusal for us to pronounce it very much an Overmatch
for

for *Schickard*. *Greaves* was indeed completely qualified ; for besides that he was a perfect Master of the Oriental Tongues, and had travelled in the *Levant*, he was acquainted with the Principal Authors, was profoundly learned, and a consummate Mathematician. He gave us a Specimen of his Work when, in the Year MDCL, he published the Description and Tables of the two Provinces, of *Chowarazm* and *Mawaralnakra* or the *Transoxane*, in *Arabic* and *Latin*. In his Preface he acquaints us he had finished the whole Translation of *Abulfeda*, and he declared as much to some of his learned Friends ; but being thrown into Prison by the Parliament, for lending Money to King *Charles II.* his House was ransacked, and his Work lost : This we had from Mr. *Hardy*, a very ingenious Gentleman, who knew him intimately well.

The two Climates *Greaves* has given us, are one of the most curious Parts of all *Abulfeda's* Geography ; for it takes notice of Cities unknown to the ancient Geographers, and which we are only told of by the *Mohammedan* History, and our Modern Travels ; and what is more, these Parts were subject to the *Seljukid* *Soltans*, under the third of whom, *Soltan Jelaloddin Malec Shab*, there were very able Geographers, who by his order took very exact Observations, as well towards the *Jelalean* Epoch as the Measure of the Earth. The *Tartar* Princes were actua-

Of
Greave's
Translati-
on of A-
bulfeda.

ted by the same laudable Spirit of Curiosity; and so *Abulfeda*, who dyed in the Year of *Christ* MCCCXLV, had a great number of pretty exact Tables whereby to settle the true Places of the Cities he mentions. But notwithstanding all this, there are Differences of one, and sometimes two Degrees in the two Climates before us; which is nothing to what there is, of the same kind, throughout the whole Body of the Work, which it may not be amiss to instance by a few Examples.

The Uncertainty of almost all the Positions in Abulfeda.

In order to this we will make Choice of the Country which one would think should have been best known to the *Mohammedans*, and that is *Arabia*: *Abulfeda* speaking of *Medina*, which is sacred among them, because of the Tomb of *Mohammed* which there stands; lays it down in 65 or 67 Degrees of Longitude. *Ailab* a famous City, and formerly very well known, as it was in the Way of the Caravans from *Egypt* to *Mecca*, is according to *Abulfeda* in 53, 54, or 56 Degrees of Longitude. *Tima* in 67 or 68 Degrees. *Tadmor*, the ancient *Palmyra*, in 62 or 66. *Hasantabaz*, the Seat of the ancient Kings of *Yaman* or *Arabia the Happy*, in 65, 67, or 70. *Dafar*, the Seat of the ancient *Homerites*, in 67 or 73. *Najeran* or *Najran*, a City that often occurs in History, in 67 or 75. *Aden*, still more known, in 65, 67 or 70. Nor is there much more certainty about the Places in other Countries which should have been better known to the Author;

nor

nor can any Thing be offered to justify his Ignorance or Negligence as to the Longitude of *St. John d'Acre*, or *Ptolemais*, which he writes to be in either 56, 57, 58, or 70 Degrees. When he gives you but one Number, it is because he found no other in the Books he transcribed, * but it is never the surer for that; he himself does

* *The chief of these Differences must arise from a difference of Meridians; for Mr. Renaudot after all he, in the Body of the Book, says in their behalf as careful Observers and intelligent Mathematicians, must be inconsistent with himself to suppose these Numbers are mere Blunders and Inaccuracies. Abulfeda seems to be no more than a Collector, as may be clearly gathered from that Prince's own Preface, and from what Mr. Renaudot here acknowledges. That these various Longitudes are perplexing, every Body must allow, it being hard to determine which is to be preferred, as it is impossible to find out the exact Meridian of each; but that they are slips of Ignorance or Negligence cannot well be supposed. Besides, it is well known, That were any Man, like Abulfeda, to collect from our own best Geographers, or rather Hydrographers, for what concerns the Sea-Coast in particular, tho' so well known to most of the European Navigators, they would be often found to vary a number of Degrees from each other; we need only instance in the Coast of France, next to us, and the Coast of Brasil in America, which now are thought to be rectified, as they doubtless are: But these Variations did not arise from the want of a fixed Meridian, but purely from a mistaken Reckoning or Computation. If some of our best Geographers then have till very lately abounded with Errors of this kind, it is somewhat unreasonable to expect the Orientals to be quite free from them; and as they say, The Knowledge of a Part, is to be preferred to an Ignorance of the Whole; so if we can to a Degree or two settle upon the Longitude of most of the noted Cities in the vast extent of Asia, which might perhaps be done, it must be somewhat more satisfactory than not to know where to look for them at all.*

not

not suppose it, and therein we have where-
withal to commend his Sincerity: For it
is to be observed that of about five hun-
dred and fifty Cities to be found in him,
(for Copies vary as to the exact Number)
he gives no one Position for exact, except
that of *Hama* or *Hamath*. After this we may
guess what Assistance we are to hope from
this so applauded Work, towards the
Reformation of our *Eastern* Geography;
as also the Account we are to make of Po-
sitions which vary so many Degrees of
Longitude from each other, and are not
much better agreed as to Latitude.

*The De-
scriptions of
the Coun-
tries more to
be valued.*

The Description of each Country at
the Head of the Tables, is more valuable,
and may be of some Use, particularly for
tracing out the Course of the great Rivers,
the *Nile*, the *Tigris*, the *Euphrates*, *Oxus*,
and a few others. The Accounts of the
several Cities in these Tables, are very
concise and exact enough; they do not
contain the Fables common in the other
Arabian and *Persian* Geographers, not ex-
cepting *Yacuti* himself, so often cited with
Commendation, who tho' he divides his
Work into Climates, does not oblige us
with one Position.

*We can
extract no-
thing there-
from to il-
lustrate the
Geography
of China.*

If what has hitherto been said concern-
ing the little Help we are to expect from
Abulfeda be true, as doubtless it is; it is
still more certain That he can supply us
with no Light as to *China* in particular;
to be perfectly satisfied of this, we need
no other Testimony than his own; for
thus

thus he delivers himself by way of Preface to the little he says of the chief Cities of this Country: "*China* is, on the West, " bounded by the Defart which divides it " from the *Indies*; on the South, by the " Sea, as also on the East; on the North, " by the Countries of *Gog* and *Magog*, " and others we know nothing at all of. " Geographers, it is true, have the Names " of many Places and Rivers in *China*; " but as we are ignorant of the Pronoun- " ciation as well as of the real State of the " Country, they are to us as it were un- " known; and the rather as we have no " Body that has been there, of whom " to inform ourselves as we ought; where- " fore we will confine ourselves to what " has been written before us." After this he ventures to name some Cities, but so disguised, that it is impossible to guess at them, except *Khanfa*, which may be the *Quinsai* of *Marco Polo*, and *Zeiun*, which he also mentions. In another Place he speaks of *Cambalic* or *Chanbalig*, and *Catai*, upon the Testimony of *Ebn Said*: These Passages *Muller* has recurred to; and they, it must be said, confirm what the Author himself confesses of the little Knowledge he had of those Parts. With the same Incertitude he declares himself at the beginning of his Universal History.

But we must not wonder *Abulfeda* knew so very little of *China*, for the rest that speak of it, tell us nothing but idle Tales and Absurdities, if we except some Pas-

*The Ara-
bians have
related no-
thing but
Fables a-
bout it.*

sages in *Yacuti*, *Ebn Wardi*, and the *Persian Geography*, which seem to have been transcribed from our Authors, who alone have talked seriously about *China*. It is astonishing, indeed, that they are so little known, but that they have been known to many is plain, and among the rest to the Author of the *Geography* printed at *Rome*, who has taken whole Passages from them; this suffices to establish their Reputation.

Our Authors have spoken contemptuously of the Chinese Learning.

They may it is possible be attacked from another Quarter, and principally because these *Arabs* express themselves somewhat irreverently of the *Chinese* Philosophy, which has been so extolled for about a Century past; which deserving a particular Discussion shall be professedly treated towards the End of this Book, in a Critique upon the *Chinese* Learning.

Historical Facts which agree not with our Chinese History.

A few historical Facts also in these Accounts may be liable to some Contradiction; because they agree not with the History of *China*, as some learned Missionaries have extracted it from the Annals of the Country, whose Exactness they applaud, tho' it be impossible to guess at it by what they have published: And if some great Men of our own Time have presumed thereby to reform even the Chronology of Scripture, they did not form their Judgment from any actual Knowledge of the Thing, and *Vossius* who talks so highly of the *Chinese*, had less than any Body; for besides that he was excessively credulous upon this Subject, he could judge

judge but at second hand, being a Stranger to the Tongue, which however was very marvellous with him and more perfect than any other. This Gentleman thought quite otherwise of the *Coptic* Tongue, which he would have to be a barbarous Jargon never heard of till the twelfth Century, tho' there is such a Certainty to the contrary as convicts him of utter Ignorance in *Mohammedan* History, and the History of Christianity in *Egypt*. Fath. *Pezron* approved of what *Vossius* advanced, thereby to vindicate the Chronology of the *Septuagint*; and others have endeavored to reflect an Authority upon the same for particular or private Views not to be regarded when Truth is the Concern.

In these Accounts also you may meet with some Things hard to believe, like those formerly thought fabulous in *Marco Polo*; and perhaps it were rashness to warrant them all; but it must be granted That the like have often been verified in process of Time; and that for this Reason alone we are to be cautious how we condemn the old Travels, when they in other Respects appear to be true. Such are our two Relations; from the first to the last Word of them there is a Simplicity very uncommon with the Orientals; the other *Arabians* and *Persians* that have written of the *Indies* and *China* particularly, even those so much esteemed by the Learned, have avoided nothing more than

They have many Things which seem incredible.

this attractive Charm, and have collected the most absurd Stories they could set Eyes on. Nor must we wonder they have so many Stories on *China*, which they hardly knew at all, since they have some as ridiculous about *Spain*, which the *Arabs* possessed a long Time, about the City of *Rome*, and about most of the *European* Provinces.

They are cleared up in the Dissertations and Notes without multiplying unnecessary Quotations

In our *Dissertations* and *Notes* we have endeavored to illustrate the most important Passages in our two Authors; but we did not deem it advisable to heap up Quotations from all sorts of Writers, as the Custom too much prevails with the Learned of later Times. *Andrew Muller*, for Example, in his Treatise *De Cataia*, has not omitted one single Passage in the Authors he knew, that could in the least answer his Purpose, tho' most of them were only Transcriptions from Transcribers, who of course could be of no Authority. Yet after this Cloud of Quotations he leaves us in the dark as to the important Part of his Subject, and those who shall know no more of *Cathay* than they have read in *Muller*, will be but very slenderly informed; they will only know the Opinions and Conjectures of several learned Men who have copied one another, and were never thoroughly possessed of their Subject.

Of Benjamin the Jew and his Translators.

Benjamin the Jew, who travelled over a great Part of the *East*, and took Notice of a great many curious and true Particulars,

lars, is no despicable Author, as some would have made him who did not understand him, at the Head of whom we must place those who ventured to translate him, *Arias Montanus*, and after him *Constantine l'Empereur*. They both translated from an Edition printed at *Constantinople*, which being erroneous, and not very fair, might easily puzzle those who did not know whereabouts he was. Accordingly *Arias Montanus*, committed horrid Faults, which the *Dutch* Translator did not afterwards perceive; and both of them by their ill reading of many proper Names of Cities, People, and Provinces, have formed imaginary ones which never were. Hence we every where meet with *Eliaman*, which never was, instead of *al Yaman*,* which is *Arabia the Happy*, and many such Faults; *Dongziin*, a People unknown, instead of *Drouziin*, the *Druses*, the Isle of *Nikrokis*; the *Hachisches*, a People who cut Princes with a Saw, and a hundred more of the same Stamp. *Arias Montanus* left his Readers the Task of untying these difficult Knots; but *Constantin l'Empereur* with a more assuming Air, undertakes to illustrate his Authors by Notes, which he has crammed with *Arabian* and *Hebrew* Passages quite wide of his Point; for he had them not from original Authors, or

* *Mr. Renaudot writes it Eliemen, which does not so much shew the real difference.*

from Geographers and Historians; he did not so much as know one of them except the *Nubian Geographer*, and *Elmacin*, whom he often did not understand. For Instance, he takes up *Benjamin* for talking of the Kalif of *Egypt* who reigned in his Time, because truly he finds another in *Elmacin* of the Family of the *Abassids*; whereas a Man must be quite a Novice to *Mohammedan History*, not to know that, in *Egypt*, the *Fatimites* declared themselves Kalifs, and withdrew Obedience from the *Abassids*, whom they gave out to be Ufurpers of the Empire and the Pontificat.

Several
great Men
have com-
mitted vast
Faults in
Oriental
History.

Greater Men by far than *Constantin l'Empereur* have been guilty of as great Absurdities in speaking of what they did not know. So *Joseph Scaliger* attempting the Origin of the Title *Prefter John*, commonly applyed to the King of *Ethiopia*, offers one which is neither *Persian*, as he pretends, nor yet *Arabic*. He is in like Manner mistaken in the Etymons of the *Persian* Names, and presuming to exhibit a Series of Kalifs and Soltans of the principal States from the Rise of *Mohammedism*, which *Abraham Zacut*, the *Jeiv*, had done very exactly, he mangled all the Names, because he saw them in *Hebrew* only, and knew them not originally. *Erpenius*, tho' a good Master of the *Arabic*, is guilty of an infinit number of Faults in his Translation of *Elmacin*, as well in the Text, as in the Geography and proper Names: So that we may justly say we have

have no body, besides *Golius* and *Gredoes*, that we can depend upon for the *Eastern Geography*; to whom indeed we may add *d'Herbelot*, whose *Bibliothèque Orientale* is full of very curious Learning, tho' by the carelessness of the Editors, it is a Work not so perfect as the Author could have made it, intimate as he was with the best *Arabian, Turkish* and *Persian* Books.

There have appeared some new Productions full of *Eastern* Erudition, which it may not be amiss to say a Word to. Of these there is a *Voyage to Arabia the Happy*, wherein are many curious Remarks with regard to the present Times. The Editor quotes *Abulfeda's Arabia*, but he excels that Geographer, who knew but two or three of the principal Cities. What he says of the *Sharifs* of *Mecca*, does not exactly agree with the most certain Records of *Mohammedism*; for not only the *Kalifs* of the first Race were Masters in that Country; but *Saladin*, a devout *Mohammedan*, if there ever was one, made a Conquest of it by his Brother, and drove out *Abdalnabi*, tho' he pretended to be of the Race of their Prophet.

Of the
Description
of Arabia
the Happy.

Sir *John Chardin*, in the last Edition of his *Voyage to Persia*, has favored us with ample Dissertations on the Morality of the ancient *Persians*, as if extracted from their own Authors: And yet most of what he says is borrowed from the *Gulistan* of the Poet *Saadi*, who was, above sixty Years ago, translated into *German* by *Olearius*, and

Chardin's
Travels.

into *Latin* by *Gentius*. The Remainder is no more than Sentences for the most part borrowed from the ancient *Greeks*, and translated into several of the *Eastern* Tongues, and no more peculiar to the *Persians* than to every other Nation in the World. Again, *Mohammedism* glares throughout the whole, and what they would pass upon us for the *Persian* Philosophy and Theology, is taken out of the *Koran*, and belongs to the *Persians* no farther than they have naturalized it of their Language.

Hyde's
Relig. Vet.
Pers.

Dr. *Hyde*, a learned *Englishman*, has undertaken a Work of greater Depth, whereby to explain the Religion of the ancient *Persians*, and which is the more likely to impose on the Reader, as it is full of Quotations from *Persian* and *Arabian* Writers. It also excites the Curiosity by the novelty of the Design, which is to justify the *Worship of Fire* among the old *Persians*, and to prove it to have been a Ceremony of mere Indifference, which intentionally aimed at the true God; for according to him the origin of this *Fire-Worship* was set on foot by the *Israelites*, who, when they were led away Captive, brought it from *Jerusalem*, and retained it to the latter Times, which nobody ever knew before *Hyde*. We understood by *Greek* and *Latin* Authors That this *Persian* Superstition and several others were known to them. The ancient Church honoured a great number of Martyrs who suffered Death, in the cruel Persecutions

secutions of *Sapor* and *Isdejerd*, rather than worship Fire: Believe not a Word of it says *Hyde*, the *Greeks* and the *Latins* knew nothing at all of the *Persian* Religion, and these Martyrs were obstinate headstrong People. In short, to prove this Paradox, he has no Authority but a wretched *Persian* Poet, who wrote about two hundred Years ago: Any Soul alive may be misled this way, and especially when ignorant of the worth and authenticity of the Authors relied on.

These Digressions may seem needless; but they are far from being so, with regard to the Use we are to make of *Oriental Literature*; we must not extend it farther than is just and right, as the common Custom has hitherto been; whereas it ought to be laid down as a sure and certain Principle That for what concerns ancient History and Geography, we can hardly reap any advantage by the *Arabian* and *Persian* Books, and much less by the *Turkish*. This also has an Eye to the Dissertations, and Notes inserted at the End of these Accounts; for it had been no difficult Matter to have added a great deal from other *Arabians* and *Persians*, as well as Modern Travellers; which we thought incumbent on us to avoid, as much as some others have thought it not so. *Bochart*, for Example, in his *Hieroicoicon*, has most faithfully amassed all the *Greeks* and *Latins* have said about the *Unicorn*; where-

*What use
we are to
make of O-
riental
Learning.*

to

into *Latin* by *Gentius*. The Remainder is no more than Sentences for the most part borrowed from the ancient *Greeks*, and translated into several of the *Eastern* Tongues, and no more peculiar to the *Persians* than to every other Nation in the World. Again, *Mohammedism* glares throughout the whole, and what they would pass upon us for the *Persian* Philosophy and Theology, is taken out of the *Koran*, and belongs to the *Persians* no farther than they have naturalized it of their Language.

Hyde's
Relig. Vet.
Pers.

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to he adds a great number of Passages from *Arabian* Authors, to which he might have added from Authors he was unacquainted with; but every attentive Reader will at the first Glance observe them to be all Copies from Copies and of each other, and that the Author he particularly follows, whom he calls *Damir*, was nothing less than a Naturalist. It is then amusing the Reader with empty Show, seriously to introduce such Testimonies and not say a Word of Precaution against them, or declare how far or how far not they are to be minded. Every Man that is familiar with the most ridiculous Fables in *Caswini* and such like Writers, will never imagin we can depend upon what they say, especially about *China*, which they had such confused Notions of; and concerning which they have not a Syllable of Truth that is not taken out of our two Anthors, which again confirms their Antiquity.

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They tell us none of the Stories, so common in the *Arabian* Geographers, about the Emperor of *China*, nor insist on the Names *Fagfur* and *Bagbun* they bestow upon him. What they write of the extent of the *Mokammedan* Empire agrees well with the Time they wrote; and the reason given, in the second Account, why *Ebn Wabab* went to *China*, suits very naturally with the Posture of Affairs about those Times, when the vast Empire of the *Kalifs* began to be rent asunder by the
Civil

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It is seemingly plain also That the *Indies*, which often occur in our two Authors, were still wholly idolatrous, and that the *Mohammedans* had not as yet made any Conquests there, or introduced *Mohammedism* among them, as they afterwards did under the *Gaznavid* Empire of *Saba-Akin*, and some other Princes less considerable. Till that Time the *Mohammedans* on the Coast of *Afric*, in the *Indies*, and in *China*, tho' pretty numerous, were there as Merchants only; they traded on the same foot with the *Jews* and *Christians*, and had no manner of Superiority. In the same State they still continue in *China*, and, as is said by Persons very much to be believed, they adhere to their Law with such strictness that they refuse the Degrees taken by the *Literati*, because they think they cannot in Conscience go through the usual Ceremonies.

The *Indians* were almost all Idolaters in their Time, and there were but few *Mohammedans* in the Country.

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The Indians were almost all Idolaters in their Time, and there were but few Mohammedans in the Country.

Most

Most of the Things, our Accounts contain, concerning the Manners and Customs of the *Indians*, are confirmed by Modern Travellers, and the *Portuguese*, as also by the *Arabian* and *Persian* Geographers.

The Description of the Tea-bush, and the Drink the *Chinese* make of its Leaf, is the more remarkable, as many very great Men of our Times, have reported it not to be of such ancient Date; and by what our Authors say of it in general, it is plain they were perfectly informed about it. As much may be said of the Musk Creature they dwell on; and several other Rarities, illustrated in the Notes.

Their Testimony as to the number of Christians in China is very remarkable.

We never before heard that Christians had been formerly numerous in *China*; for all that has been written by the *Portuguese*, and others about St. *Thomas's* Preaching there, can never stand upon the feeble Support of far fetched Conjecture, and bare Probability: The *Chinese* and *Syriac* Inscription indeed, discovered in the Year MDCXXV, assured us the Faith had been taught in *China* in the eight Century at the latest; but no Trace of this Mission was left, and *Kircher* and *Muller* are widely out in their Explanations of this Monument; but here you will have it illustrated in a Dissertation apart, by which it will appear That when our two Authors say, there were numbers of Christians involved in the universal Massacre, at the time a total Revolution beset the Empire, it is not impossible but those who thus perished were descended

ed of those mentioned on the *Chinese* Stone.

The same Passage gives us to understand what City is meant by the Name of *Cumdan*,* mentioned in the Inscription as being at that Time the Capital of the Empire. Tho' most of the *Arabs* confirm what is said in the Inscription, and have the Name of this City of *Cumdan*, and among the rest the *Nubian Geographer*; yet was this City unknown, his Translators mistaking it for the Name of the River that washed the City, instead of the City itself. Those who undertook to explain the *Syriac* Inscription, afforded us nothing but empty Conjectures; whereas by our two *Mohammedans* we learn two important Facts which cast a great light upon the *Chinese* History; *first* that *Cumdan* was formerly the Capital of the Empire, and *secondly* that the same was *Nankin*, a Thing unknown to the best that have written about *China*.

The Lights they afford us into Geography.

By them also we understand That the City of *St. Thomé* was not so called by the *European* Navigators, as many have thought, seeing it was known by the same Name in the ninth Century. They may be of great Use also for the Coasts of the *Indian* Ocean, if we seriously examin into the little they say, and compare it with

Of the City of St. Thomé.

* *Mr. Renaudot writes it Cumbdan throughout the whole Preface,*

what is in the old *Greek* Geographers, seemingly unknown to the *Arabs*, if we except *Ptolomy's* Tables. By them again, we might clear up many Passages in the *Nubian Geography*, which is by no means so contemptible a Book as some of the Learned would have had it; tho' on the other hand it is not deserving of the very high Account some have made of it. Such as it is, it may serve for a Sample of the *Eastern* Geographies; for it is void of Positions, a Defect it has in common with most of the rest; and indeed they might as well be omitted as given with the Variety, and Incertitude in *Abulfeda*. There is nothing of this kind tolerably exact among the *Persian* and *Arabian* Geographers, but the Tables of *Ulug Beig*, and *Nassir Eddin* translated by *Greaves*. The *Nubian Geographer*, tho' his Work has been printed in *Arabic*, and turned into *Latin*, has been of no great Service, because the Translators having nothing but the printed Copy before them, which is very erroneous, could not restore their Text by Manuscripts, which are very scarce.

In what
manner the
proper
Names are
expressed

The proper Names are in the Translation, in the Notes, and in the Dissertations expressed in the most simple manner possible, and according to the Power of our Alphabet, regardful not to depart from Custom, which has fixed the Pronunciation of several of them. Thus for many Centuries past we have been used to pronounce the Word which signifies a King or Prince

Melik,

Melik, and thus it is written in *Roderic of Toledo*, and in other *Spanish*, and *Portuguese* Authors. All the Learned have written and pronounced *Melik Chab*, in speaking or writing of that great *Seljukid* Soltan, who reformed the Calendar, and erected the *Jelalean* Epoch; so that a Reader that understands no *Arabic*, or is unacquainted with *Eastern* History, would not know him again by the Name of *Malek Chab*. The same it is with the Names of Cities and Provinces, which are variously written by *Europeans*, according to their several Rules of Orthography, which are oftentimes hard to be understood. Thus what the *Arabs* call *Aderbijan* [*Adarbejan*] is spelt one way by a *German*, and another way by a *Portuguese*. *Olearius* writes it *Aderbitzian*, *Teixeira* writes it, *Aderbajon*, who also closes all the *Persian* Terminations in *N*, with an *M*; because the Natives themselves pronounce the final *an* almost as the *Portuguese* do their *as* or *am*. Others of the Learned have imagined we are to adhere to the present Rules; and so one of the greatest of them has lately in translating the Histories which mention the Province of *Kowarzem*, spelt it *Karisme*; and will have it that the famous Historian *Emir Cond*, is to be spelt *Emir Cavend*; *Ung-khan* Emperor of the *Moguls*, defeated by *Jenghiz-khan*, *Aveng-khan*, and the same of many others. We do not dispute the present Laws of Pronunciation, as to them we must hearken to Travellers; but we may venture to say
The

The *Eastern* Tongues have not been less subject to changes of Pronunciation than the *European*. This is easily understood; for the Geographers of those Parts, aware of the Defect of their Characters or Letters for settling the due and genuine Pronunciation, ascertain it as well as they can, by naming every Vowel in proper Names; and seldom it is they agree with the common way of pronouncing. We pass over the Method taken with the *Eastern* Names by the Translator of *Elmacin* [*Erpenius*]; as for the Translator of the History of *Tamerlan* [*Vattier*] he is quite particular and by himself; for what Soul alive could ever guess that *Gali*, *le Guebajé*, *Gabdolle*, are, *Hali* [*Ali*] *Abbas*, *Abdalla*, and so on, which must make all such Translations unintelligible.*

Some Account of the Orthography and Pronunciation of the Eastern Names.

* *This is very justly said, and is a Point which well deserves to be considered at large; but the Reader will not expect us to launch into the Particulars of so wide a Subject, when he perceives that we confine our Views to the narrow Limits of a single Note. Mr. Renaudot is perhaps more accurate in his way of spelling the Eastern Names, than any other of his Nation, or perhaps any Foreigner whatsoever; but tho', sensible of the Defect of the French Alphabet, he often calls in the K and W to his assistance, yet he is not always equal and alike in several of his Names; nor has he settled them so, that his Reader shall never be at a loss to know how they are really to be pronounced.*

There

The Dissertations are rather loose Essays on what might be done towards the Recovery of some very obscure, tho' important, Points, than Tracts in Form. We have endeavored to open the way to those

Of the
Disserta-
tions.

There are two ways of pronouncing the Arabic, the one peculiar to Afric, the other to Asia; which last being the Parent of this extensive Tongue, it seems as if we had no room to doubt but the Pronunciation there, is to be preferred to the same in Afric: But that the African Way should, on the other hand, chiefly prevail in Europe, is no Wonder, considering how long, and how nearly we have had Commerce with the Moors. The Africans pronounce el for al, and Melik for Malec or Malek, and so on; the Asiatics being more open and full in their Utterance. But it is not only as to Vowels that we are at some Uncertainty, but even with regard to Consonants; whence you have the Ambiguities to be observed in some parts of this Book, as the Wood called Hairzan in one Place, and Chairzan in another; the Kingdom of Gezaz [Jeraz] or Haraz; the Province of Curistan or Cuzistan. Now these several Ambiguities arise from the exact resemblance of some Arabic Letters with others which are barely distinguished from them by a Point, or two, or three, either above the Letter, or below it; for example, The first Letter of Hairzan is naked thus ح, of Chairzan the first Letter is with a Point thus ح; of Geraz the first Letter is with a Point thus ج, of Haraz the first Letter, as in Hairzan, is naked thus ح; in Curistan the R is naked thus ر, in Cuzistan the Z is with a Point thus ز: There is another R and Z, but the Case between them is exactly parallel. It appears then that these Variations are produced either by Omission, or Redundancy; if by Omission the Points are wanting: But if by Redundancy, the Points are too much; and that the most diligent Transcriber may, in the Course of a long Copy, be guilty of both, must be readily granted.

The Arabs are often very careful to prevent any Mistake in the Pronunciation of proper Names, and especially

who may hereafter attempt deeper Inquiries, upon the principal Heads that occur.

Two or three Authors, who but copy from each other, suffice to give birth to a Notion which spreads unexamined by those

as to Vowels; so that when we neglect them, and, running Riot after our Fancy, deviate from them, nothing can excuse us. Upon this Head many might be severely accused, but we will only instance in Pe'tis de la Croix, Senior, who, in his History of Genghiz Khan, has all along Capschac for Kipjak, Alschasche for Alshash, or the County of Shash, Carizme for Chowarazm, and infinit others; so that it is with too much Reason Few Gentlemen who have not some previous Notion of Eastern Geography and History, care to read the Books that might instruct them therein. In short, the Evils of this Presumption, or Vanity, or Negligence, or call it what you will, are of the most discouraging Kind, and such as claim a thorough and speedy Reformation.

Historians, and Geographers should agree upon the most powerful Alphabet they could form out of the several in Europe, and adhere thereto in their Translations from Eastern Works: Nor ever presume to alter the Names of Persons and Places, or clip them, or stretch them to what they are pleased to call their own Standard, which if they did not, we should always know whereabouts we are, and who is meant. If a little Care were taken, and Men wrote rather to instruct and inform, than to raise themselves a Name, which when their Works come to be strictly examined they must infallibly lose; we should not in a French Author, read Blocquet for Blackheath, or see the thousands of the same Abuses which so abound in their Histories and Geographies. To conclude, If Men were sure That Accuracy and Application would be more required at their Hands, by the Public, than they seem to be; the World would not be pestered with the offensive Lumber of the many Books which stand in such great need of Purification by Fire, or Ablution by Water, no matter which.

But to digress no farther, we shall only add That we have, as near as we have been able, confined ourselves to the true and genuine Orthography of the Names; and that

who follow them; this throws a Mist over History, and gives an Opportunity to confound Truth with Falshood, and what is Certain with what is mere Conjecture. For Example, Father Trigaut misunderstanding some Passages of *Syriac*, declares it very probable That St. Thomas preached in *China*. A few Years afterwards, they find the *Chinese* and *Syriac* Inscription, which talks of a Mission from *Judea* or *Syria*; whereupon it was by some asserted, That the Person, therein mentioned, must have been St. Thomas; and at once they prick you down the Track he must have followed, and give you a Map to convince you it was so: But these Systems being confessedly absurd, others

that the Learned Reader is desired to take Notice, That the Ch in Choraslan, Chowarazm, Chanbalig and the like, is to be pronounced like the Greek χ, or an English Kh, to make it the stronger; and that the English Reader may pronounce it as in Choir, Chimera, Chemystry.

That the U, wherever it occurs, is to be pronounced nearly like our Diphthong ou, or rather our oo, as in Moon, Soon, Boon; so Almamun must be pronounced Almameoon, Hud, Hood; Asud, Afood; the same is to be observed generally, wherever the u occurs in the Eastern Names, in this Book.

The i is to be pronounced as our ee; so Rashid must be Rasheed; Walid, Waleed; Yazid, Yazeed.

The a and the o must, in general, be pronounced a little more open than the English do, but not quite so broad as the French.

We had thoughts of using the Circumflex to mark some of these Distinctions, but we apprehended it might perplex the mere English Reader, as much as it would assist the Scholar.

would have had this Inscription to be a Forgery, tho' it is certainly a most precious Monument, and of the clearest Authority; as will be proved in one of the Dissertations, which will evince That all hitherto offered upon this Head, and particularly by *Muller*, is Intolerable.

Of the
Chinese
Learning.

As for the *Chinese* Learning, we have perhaps exposed our selves to great Contradiction, many of the Learned having a long while been of a quite contrary Opinion, tho' not a Soul of them could be an immediate Judge of what he advanced, ignorant of that dreadful Tongue which requires no less than the Life of Man to be duly attained. The Missionaries, indeed, thought they might safely make the *Chinese* Philosophers instrumental towards the Conversion of the whole Nation, and their view was laudable enough: But others, and especially Libertins have strangely perverted the excessive Things which have been reported of the *Chinese* Antiquities; and have assumed them as a Weapon where with to attack the Authority of Scripture, and its Super-structure, the Christian Religion; as also the Universality of the Flood, and to maintain that the World is much older than it is thought to be. The fabulous Accounts which so abound in the *Persian* History, all absurd as they are, have to some seemed worthy of being espoused.

Ignorant People, such as the Author of the *Preadamitic System*, are apt to believe whatever flatters their own Con-
cepti-

ceptions, and especially when such Stories are seriously told by great Men, tho' they, it has since appeared, knew nothing beyond the Titles of the Books they have so vaunted. *Vossius*, who, it must be owned, was deeply read in *Greek* and *Latin* Literature, found wherewithal, in the Ancients, to confirm all he saw, or heard say concerning the *Chinese*. And upon such Authorities have Evil disposed Persons, perverted by a false Metaphysics, given out Opinions which, to them, seemed new; tho' most of the same were familiar to the old Philosophers, and the first Heretics; and tend to no less than the utter Subversion of all Religion. What we are taught by *Jesus Christ*, is too well grounded to want the Concurrence of the *Chinese* Philosophy; and if any believe, it may perfect the Mind, and reform the Manners, tho' they know nothing thereof, but by Paraphrases as obscure as the Text; they are to be advised fairly to inquire into what may be objected to the Antiquity of this proud Nation, to their History and their Philosophy, and compare the Advantages thence to be deduced, with the Abuses that have been made of the Contrary. We hope it will, at least, be granted That we may be well skilled in every Science, great Philosophers, and great Mathematicians, without being beholden to the *Chinese* Books.

T H E

The Reader is desired to take Notice, That the Capitals in the Margin of the Two Accounts, are added in this Edition, and refer to the same in the Margin of the Notes, which are in exact Alphabetical Order. And that [DD] in the Margin of Page 84 of the Accounts, 6 Lines from the bottom, is wanting.

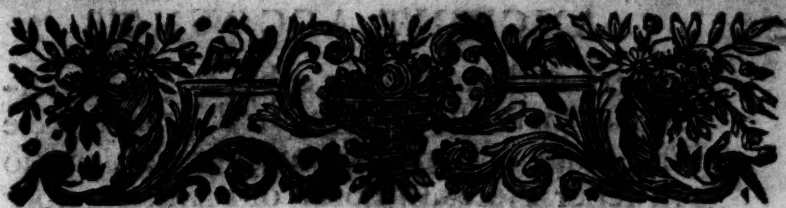
The Reader is also desired to excuse and correct the following most Material Errors of the Press.

In the Two Accounts.

PAG. 2. line 3. from the Bottom, for *Jacquets* read *Jackets*. p. 9. l. 10. from the bottom, for *Sugar*, *Canes*, read *Sugar-canes*. p. 18. for *Kaschbin* read *Kashbin*. p. 22. for *Tusng* read *Tusang*. p. 38. for the Country of *Kakhan* or *Tibet*, read the Country of the *Kakhan* of *Tibet*. p. 47. l. 6. for *loved* read *love*. p. 62. for *Tygris* read *Tigris*. p. 83. l. 8. for the *King* read *one of the Kings*. p. 87. *Goxar* read *Goraz*.

In the Notes and Dissertations.

Page 3. Line 18. for *possibly* read *possible*. p. 7. l. 20. for *καλαϊ* read *παλαϊ*. p. 17. l. 22. for *than* read *then*. p. 35. for *Acbem* read *Achem*. p. 46. for *Fanfur* read *Fansur*. p. 47. l. 6. from the Bottom for *as being a read as that a*. p. 48. for *Tontang* read *Toutang*. p. 62. l. 12. from the Bottom for *split Horn* read *cloven Hoof*. p. 71. for *Xabicang* read *Xabiang*. p. 72. for *Khan* of *Tibet* read *Kakhan* of *Tibet*. p. 104. l. 8. from the bottom for *Seet* read *Sect*. p. 108. for *Mar-Amba* read *Mar-Ama*. Ibid. for *Selibazaba* read *Selibazaka*. p. 111. for an *Ali* read and *Ali*. p. 115. for *Thadaus* read *Thaddaus*. p. 121. l. 21. for *Catholics* read *Catholic*. p. 122. for *Abasba-Khan* read *Abaka-Khan*. p. 134. for *Eba Shalikan* read *Ebn Kalikan*. p. 135. l. 2. from the Bottom for *Sping* read *Spring*. p. 150. for *Erythæan* read *Erythræan*. p. 175. for *cay Tagazgaz* read *call Tagazgaz*. p. 177. for *Khan* or *Emperor* read *Kakhan* or *Emperor*. p. 197. for *Kari* or *Katib* read *Kari* and *Katib*. p. 209. l. 6. for *expres* read *expressed*. p. 214. for *Catuian* read *Cataian*. p. 225. for *Epochæ Celobrires* read *Epochæ Celobriores*.



ANCIENT ACCOUNTS

OF
INDIA and *CHINA*;

BY
Two Mohammedan Travellers,
Who went to those Parts in the 9th Century.

Translated from the Arabic.

I. ACCOUNT.

[*The Beginning is wanted.*]



HE third of the Seas we have
to mention, is the Sea of
Harkand. Between this Sea
and that of *Delarowi*, are ma-
ny Islands, to the Number,
as they say, of 1900. They,
in some sort, part these two Seas from each
B other,

*The Mal-
dives.*

[A]

[B]

other, and are govern'd by a Queen. Among these Islands, they find Ambergreese in Lumps of extraordinary bigness; as also in lesser Pieces, in Form of Plants forcibly torn up. This Amber is produced at the Bottom of the Sea, as Plants are upon Earth; and when the Sea is troubled, the Violence of the Wave tears it up from the Bottom, and washes it to the Shore, in form of a Mushroom, or a Truffle.

Coco-nut
Trees.
Geogr.
Nub. p. 31.

These Islands govern'd by a Woman, are full of that kind of the Palm-tree which bears the Coco-nut; and are one, two, three, or four Leagues distant from each other, all inhabited, and planted with Coco-nut Trees. The Wealth of the Inhabitants consists in Shells [*Coveries*,] and even the Queen's Treasury is full of them. They say there are no Artificers more expert than these Islanders; and that of the Fibres of the Coco-nut they make whole Shirts, all of one Piece, Sleeves, Gusslets and all, as also half Vests [or *Jacquets*.] With the same industry, and with the same Tree they build Ships and Houses; and they are skilful in all other sorts of Workmanship. Their Shells they have from the Sea, at times when they rise up to the Surface; at which times the Inhabitants throw Branches of the Coco-nut-tree into the Sea, and the Shells stick to them. They call them *Kabtaje*.

[D]
The Island
of Sarandib
or Ceylon.

Beyond these Islands, in the Sea of *Har-kand*, is *Sarandib*, or *Ceylon*, the Chief of all these Islands, which are called *Dobijat*.

It

OF INDIA and CHINA.

3

It is all encompassed by the Sea, and on certain parts of its Coast they fish for Pearl.

Up in the Country there is a Mountain called *Rakun*, to the top of which it is thought *Adam* ascended; and there left the Mark of his Foot in a Rock, on the top of this same Mountain. There is but one Print of a Man's Foot, which is seventy Cubits in Length; and they say that *Adam* at the same time stood with his other Foot in the Sea. About this Mountain are Mines of the Ruby, Opal, and Amethyst. This Island, which is of great extent, has two Kings; and here you may have Wood-Aloes, Gold, precious Stones, and Pearls, which are fished on the Coast; as also a kind of large Shells, which they use instead of Trumpets, and which they much value.

Adam's
Peek.
Geogr.

In this same Sea, towards *Sarandib*, there are other Isles, but not so many in Number, tho' of vast extent and unknown Name. One of these Islands is called *Ramni*, and is under several Princes, being eight or nine hundred Leagues in dimension. Here are Gold Mines, and particularly those called *Fansur*; as also an excellent sort of Camphire. These Islands are not far from some others, the Chief of which is *Alnian*, where is great plenty of Gold. The Inhabitants here have Coco-nut Trees, which supply them with Food; and therewith also they paint their Bodies, and oil themselves. The Custom of the Country is, that no one may marry, till he has slain an Enemy in Battle, and brought off his Head.

[C]
Great Isles
of Ramni.

Alnian.

A remarkable
Custom touch-
ing Mar-
riage.

B 2

If

ANCIENT ACCOUNTS

If he has killed two, he claims two Wives, and so on in proportion; so that if he has slain fifty, he may marry fifty Wives. This Custom proceeds from the Number of hostile Nations which surround them; so that he, among them, who kills the greatest Number, is the most considered.

*People that
eat Human
Flesh.*

These Islands of *Ramni* abound with Elephants, Red-wood, and Trees called *Chairzan*; and the Inhabitants eat Human Flesh. These Islands part the Sea of *Har-kand* from the Sea of *Shelaket*; and beyond them are others called *Najabalus*, which are pretty well peopled. Both the Men and the Women there go quite naked, except that the Women conceal their Parts with the Leaves of Trees. When Shipping is among these Islands, the Inhabitants come off in Embarkations, little and big, and bring with them Ambergreese, and Coco-nuts, which they truck for Iron: For they want no Cloathing, being free from the extremes either of Heat or of Cold.

*Amber-
greese.*

*The Sea of
Andaman.
Canibals.*

Beyond these two Islands lies the Sea of *Andaman*; the People on this Coast eat Human Flesh quite raw; their Complexion is black; their Hair frizled; their Countenance and Eyes frightful; their Feet are very large and almost a Cubit in length; and they go quite naked. They have no Embarkations; if they had, they would devour all the Passengers they could lay Hands on. When Ships have been kept back by contrary Winds, they are often, in these Seas, obliged to drop Anchor, on this barbarous Coast. for the sake of Water,

Of INDIA and CHINA.

ter, when they have expended their Stock; and upon these Occasions they often lose some of their Men, but most escape.

Beyond this there is a mountainous and inhabited Island, where, as they say, are Mines of Silver; but as it does not ly in the usual Track of Shipping, many have sought for it in vain; tho' remarkable for a very lofty Mountain, which is called *Kashenai*. It happened that a Ship sailing in this Latitude, had Sight of the Mountain, and shaped her Course for it; and being come up with the Land, sent a Boat on shore, with Hands to cut Wood. The Men kindled a Fire, and saw Silver run from it; which gave them to understand there was a Mine of this Metal in that Place; wherefore they shipped as much of the Earth, or Ore, as they saw good. But as they were proceeding on their Voyage, the Sea was ruffled by so furious a Gust of Wind, that, to lighten their Ship, they were under a necessity of throwing all their Ore overboard. Since that time the Mountain has been carefully looked for, but it has never since been seen. To conclude, there are many such Islands in the Sea, more in Number than can be said; being partly too dangerous to be approached by Seamen, and partly unknown to them.

In this Sea there is often beheld a white Cloud, which at once spreads over a Ship, and lets down a long thin Tongue, or Spout, quite to the Surface of the Wa-

[F]

An unknown Island where are Mines of Silver.

[G]

A white Cloud, or Water Spout.

ANCIENT ACCOUNTS

Water, which it disturbs just after the Manner of a Whirl-wind; and if a Vessel happen to be in the way of this Whirl-pool, she is immediately swallowed up thereby: But at length this Cloud mounts again, and discharges itself in a prodigious rain. It is not known whether this Water is sucked up by the Cloud which makes it rise; or in what manner so extraordinary an effect is brought to pass.

[H] All these Seas are Subject to great Com-motions excited by the Winds, which make them boil up like Water over a fire. Then is it that the Surf dashes Ships against the Islands, and breaks them to pieces with unspeakable Violence; and then also is it that Fish, of all sizes, are thrown dead ashore upon the Rocks, like an Arrow from a Bow.

The Wind which commonly blows upon the Sea of *Harkand*, is from another Quarter, it coming from the North-west; but this Sea is also Subject to as violent Agitations as those we have just mentioned. And now is *Ambergreese* torn up from the Bottom, and particularly where it is very deep; and the deeper it is, the more exquisite is the Amber. It is observed that when this Sea rages in this violent manner, it sparkles like Fire. In this Sea, moreover, there is a Fish called *Lockham*, which preys upon Men.

[I] *[Here is a Leaf or more wanting in the Manuscript, where the Author began to treat of China.]*

OF INDIA and CHINA.

***** which has caused all Goods Ca nfu.
to lower in their Price. Of the different Causes of this Fall, the frequent Fires which happen at *Canfu* are none of the least. *Canfu* is the Port for all the Ships and Goods of the *Arabs*, who trade in *China*; but Fires are there very frequent, because the Houses are built with nothing but Wood, or else with split Cane [*Bamboo*:] besides, the Merchants and Ships are often lost in going and coming; or they are often plundered; or obliged to make too long a stay in Harbour; or to sell their Goods out of the Country subject to the *Arabs*, and there make up their Cargo. In short, Ships are under a necessity of wasting a considerable time in refitting, not to speak of many other Causes of Delay.

Soliman the Merchant relates, that at *Canfu*, which is the principal Scale for Merchants, there is a *Mohammedan* appointed Judge over those of his Religion, by the Authority of the Emperor of *China*; and that he is Judge of all the *Mohammedans* who resort to these Parts. Upon Festival Days he performs the public Service with the *Mohammedans*, and pronounces the Sermon or *Kotbat*, which he concludes, in the usual form, with Prayers for the Sultan of the *Moslems*, [or *Musselmens*.] The Merchants of *Irak* who trade hither, are no way dissatisfied with his Conduct, or his Administration in the Post he is invested with; because his Actions, and the Judgments he gives, are just and equitable, and

[Q]
A Mo-
hamme-
dan Kadi
at Canfu.

conformable to the *Koran* [or *Alcoran*,] and according to the *Mohammedan* Jurisprudence.

[L]
The Course
to China.

Geog. Nub.
p. 56.

Id. Præf.
p. 4. Lat.

As for the Places whence Ships depart, and those also they touch at; many Persons declare that the Navigation is perform'd in the following order. Most of the *Chinese* Ships take in their Cargo at *Siraf*, where also they Ship their Goods which come from *Bafra* or *Bassora*, *Oman*, and other Parts; and this they do, because in this Sea, (that is, in the Sea of *Persia* and the *Red Sea*) there are frequent Storms, and shole Water in many Places. From *Bafra* to *Siraf* is 120 Leagues, and when Ships have loaded at this last Place, they there water also; and from thence make Sail for a Place called *Mascat*, which is in the extremity of the Province of *Oman*, about 200 Leagues from *Siraf*. On the East Coast of this Sea, between *Siraf* and *Mascat*, is a Place called *Nafif Bani al Safak*, and an Island called *Ebn Kabowan*; and in this Sea are Rocks called *Oman*, and a narrow Strait, called *Dordur*, between two Rocks, through which small Vessels do venture, but the *Chinese* Ships dare not. There are also two Rocks called *Kossir* and *Howair*, which scarce appear above the Water's edge. After we are clear of these Rocks, we steer for a place called *Shibr Oman*, and at *Mascat* take in Water, which is drawn out of Wells; and here, also, you are supplied with Cattle of the Province of *Oman*. From hence Ships take

take their Departure for the *Indies*, and first they touch at *Kaucammali*; and from *Mascat* to this Place, it is a Month's sail, with the Wind aft. This is a Frontier Place, and the chief Arsenal in the Province of the same Name; and here the *Chinese* Ships put in and are in safety. Fresh Water is to be had here, and the *Chinese* pay a thousand Drams for Duties; but others pay only from one *Dinar* to ten *Dinars*.

They are worth about a Gold Crown.

From *Mascat* to *Kaucammali*, it is, as we have said, a Month's Sail; and then, having watered at this last Place, you begin to enter the Sea of *Harkand*; and having sailed through it, you touch at a place call *Lajabalus*, where the Inhabitants understand not the *Arabesque*, or any other Language in use with Merchants. They wear no Cloaths, are white, and unstable on their Feet.

It is said their Women are not to be seen; and that the Men leaving the Island, in Canoes hollowed out of one Piece, go in quest of them, and carry them Coco-nuts, Sugar, Canes, *Moufa*, and Palm-wine. This Liquor is white, and, if drank fresh, has the Taste of the Coco-nut, and is sweet like Honey; if kept somewhat longer it becomes as strong as Wine; but if it is kept for several Days, it turns to Vinegar. They give it in exchange for Iron; and in like manner they truck the little Amber which is thrown on their Coast, for bits of Iron. The Bargain is driven by

[K]
An Island where no Women are seen. Palm-wine.

ANCIENT ACCOUNTS

by Signs, and Touches of the Hand, because they understand not the *Arabesque*. But they are very sharp, and are apt to carry off Iron from the Merchants, and leave them nothing in return.

Calabar.

From this Place Ships steer towards *Calabar*, the Name of a Place and a Kingdom on the Coast, to the right Hand beyond *India*. *Bar* signifies a *Coast* in the Language of the Country, and this depends on the Kingdom of *Zabage*. The Inhabitants are dressed in those sorts of striped Garments, which the *Arabs* call *Fauta*; and they commonly wear but one at a time, which is equally observed by Persons of high Rank, and those of inferior Degree. At this Place they commonly take in Water, which is filled from living Wells, and which they like better than what is drawn out of Cisterns and Tanks. *Calabar* is about a Months Voyage from a Place called *Kaukam*, which is almost upon the Skirts of the Sea of *Harkand*.

[M]
Betuma.

In ten Days after this, Ships reach a Place called *Betuma*, where they may water if they please. From thence in ten Days they come up with *Kadrang*, where also they may water. It is worth the notice, that in all the Islands and Peninsula's of the *Indies*, they find Water when they dig for it.

Senef.

In this last mentioned Place there is a very lofty Mountain, which is scarce Peopled by any but Slaves and fugitive Robbers. From thence in ten Days they arrive

rive at *Senef*. Here is fresh Water, and hence comes the *Aromatic-wood*, we call *Hud al Senefi*: Here is a King; the Inhabitants are black, and wear two striped Garments.

Having watered at this Place, it is a ten *Sandarfu-*
Days Passage to *Sandarfulat*, an Island *lat.*
where is fresh Water. Then they steer upon the Sea of *Sanji*, and so to the *Gates* of *China*; for so they call certain Rocks and Sholes in that Sea, between which is a narrow Strait, through which Sips pass. It requires a Month to Sail from *Sandarfulat* to *China*, and it takes up eight whole Days to steer clear of these Rocks. When a Ship has got through these *Gates*, she, with the Tide of Flood, goes into a fresh Water Gulf, and drops Anchor in the chief Port of *China*, which is that of *Canfu*; and here they have fresh *Canfu.*
Water, both from Springs and Rivers, as they have also in most of the other Cities of *China*. The City is adorned with large Squares, and supplied with all the Necessaries of Defence against an Enemy; and, in most of the other Provinces, there are Cities of Strength, fortified in the same manner.

In this Port it Ebbs and Flows twice in twenty four Hours, but with this Difference; That whereas from *Basra* to the Island called *Bani Kabowan*, it Flows when the Moon is in her mid Course, and Ebbs when she rises and when she sets; from near *Bani Kabowan* quite to the Coast of *China*,
The Tides at Canfu.

China, it is Flood when the Moon rises, and when she is towards her height it is Ebb; and so on, when she sets it is flowing Water, and when she is quite hidden under the Horizon, the Tide falls.

*The Island
of Muljan.*

They say that in the Island of *Muljan*, which is between *Sarandib* and *Cala*, on the Eastern Shore of the *Indies*, there are Negroes who go quite naked; and that when they meet with a Stranger, they hang him with his Head downward, and slice him into Pieces, which they eat quite raw. These Negroes have no King, and feed upon Fish, *Moufa*, Coco-nuts, and Sugar-canes: They have Ponds and some Lakes.

*Man-eat-
ers.*

[N]
Flying Fish.

They report also, that in some parts of this Sea, there is a smallish kind of Fish which flies upon the Water, and which they call the *Sea Locust*.

It is moreover said, that in another Part there is a Fish which, leaving the Sea, gets up to the Coco-nut Trees; and having drained them of their Juice, takes to the Sea again.

[O]
*A Fish
which pe-
trifies.*

It is again added, that in this Sea there is another sort of Fish like a Lobster, which petrifies as soon as taken out of its Element; they pulverise it, and it is good for several Diseases of the Eyes.

[P]
*A Vulca-
no.*

They say also, that near *Zabage* there is a Mountain called the *Mountain of Fire*, which no one may approach; that, in the day time, it sends up a thick Smoke; and that, in the Night, it throws out Flames. At the Foot of this same Mountain are

two

two Springs of fresh Water, the one hot and the other cold.

The *Chinese* are dressed in Silk both Winter and Summer; and this kind of dress is common to the Prince, the Soldier, and to every other Person, though of the lowest Degree. In Winter they wear Drawers, of a particular make, which fall down to their Feet. Of these they put on two, three, four, five or more, if they can, one over another; and are very careful to be covered quite down to their Feet, because of the Damps which are very great, and much dreaded by them. In Summer they only wear a single Garment of Silk, or some such Dress, but have no Turbans.

Their common Food is Rice, which they often eat with a Broth like what the *Arabs* make of Meat, or Fish, which they pour upon their Rice. Their Kings eat Wheaten Bread, and all sorts of Animals, not excepting Swine, and some others.

They have several sort of Fruits; Apples, Lemons, Quinces, *Moulas*, Sugar-canes, Citruls, Figs, Grapes, Cucumbers of two sorts, Trees which bear Meal, Walnuts, Almonds, Filberds, Pistachios, Plums, Apricocks, Services, and Coco-nuts; but they have no store of Palms; they have only a few about some private Houses.

Their drink is a kind of Wine made of Rice; they have no other Wine in the Country, nor is there any brought to them; they know not what it is, nor do they

they drink of it. They have Vinegar also, and a kind of Comfit like what the *Arabs* call *Natef*, and some others.

The Ornament of the Chinese Women.

They are not very nice in point of cleanliness, and wash not with Water when they ease Nature, but only wipe themselves with Paper. They eat also of dead Animals, and practice in many other things like the *Magians*; and, in truth, the Religion of the one and the other is much the same. The *Chinese* Women appear uncover'd, and adorn their Heads with small Ivory and other Combs, of which they shall wear sometimes a Score together. The Men are covered with Caps of a particular make.

The Law they observe with regard to Thieves, is to put them to Death as soon as caught.

Some Particulars relating to the Indies and to the Kings of the same Countries.

[R]
Four great Kings.

Both the *Indians* and *Chinese* agree, that there are four great or principal Kings in the World; they allow the King of the *Arabs* to be the first, and to be, without dispute, the most Powerful of Kings, the most wealthy, and the most excellent every way; because he is the Prince and Head of a great Religion, and because no other surpasses him in Greatness, or Power.

The Balhara.

The Emperor of *China* reckons himself next after the King of the *Arabs*, and after him the King of the *Greeks*; and lastly, the *Balhara*, King of *Moharmi al Adan*,

Adan, or of *Those who have their Ears bored*. This *Balkara* is the most illustrious Prince in all the *Indies*; and all the other Kings there, tho' each is Master and independant in his Kingdom, acknowledge in him this Prerogative and Pre-eminence. When he sends Ambassadors to them, they receive them with extraordinary honours, because of the respect they bear him. This King makes magnificent Presents after the manner of the *Arabs*; and has Horses and Elephants in very great Number, and great Treasures in Money. He has of those Pieces of Silver called *Thartarian Drams*, which weigh half a Dram more than the *Arabesque Dram*. They are coined with the Die of the Prince, and bear the Year of his Reign from the last of the Reign of his Predecessor. They compute not their Years from the *Æra of Mohammed* as do the *Arabs*, but only by the Years of their Kings. Most of these Princes have lived a long time, and many of them have reigned above Fifty Years; and those of the Country believe that the length of their Lives, and of their Reigns, is granted them in recompence for their Kindness to the *Arabs*. In truth, there are no Princes more heartily affectionate to the *Arabs*; and their Subjects profess the same Friendship for us.

Balkara is an Apellative common to all these Kings, as was *Cosraes*, and some others, and is not a proper Name. The Country which owes Obedience to this Prince, be-
gins

The
Balkara, a
Name com-
mon to all
these Kings.

gins on the Coast of the Province called *Kamkam*, and reaches by Land to the confines of *China*. He is surrounded by the Dominions of many Kings, who are at War with him, and yet he never marches against them. One of these Kings is the King of *Haraz*, who has very numerous Forces, and is stronger in Horse than all the other Princes of the *Indies*; but is an Enemy to the *Arabs*, tho' he at the same time confesses their King to be the greatest of Kings; nor is there a Prince in the *Indies* who has a greater Aversion to *Mokammedism*. His Dominions are upon a Promontory, where are much riches, many Camels, and other Cattle. The Inhabitants here Traffic with Silver they wash for; and they say there are Mines of the same on the Continent. There is no talk of Robbers in this Country, no more than in the rest of the *Indies*.

The Kingdom of Tafek.

On one side of this Kingdom lies that of *Tafek*, which is not of very great extent; this King has the finest White Women in all the *Indies*; but he is subject to the Kings about him, his Army being but small. He has a great Affection for the *Arabs*, as well as the *Balbala*.

Rahmi.

These Kingdoms border upon the Lands of a King called *Rahmi*, who is at War with the King of *Haraz*, and with the *Balbala* also. This Prince is not much considered either for his Birth, or the Antiquity of his Kingdom; but his Forces are

are more numerous than those of the *Balbara*, and even than those of the Kings of *Haraz*, and *Tafek*. They say that when he takes the Field, he appears at the Head of fifty thousand Elephants; and that he commonly marches in the Winter Season, because the Elephants not being able to bear with thirst, he can move at no other Time. They say also that in his Army there are commonly from ten to fifteen thousand Tents. In this same Country they make Cotton Garments, in so extraordinary a manner, that no where else are the like to be seen. These Garments are for the most part round, and wove to that degree of fineness, that they may be drawn through a Ring of a middling Size.

Shells are current in this Country, and serve for small Money, notwithstanding that they have Gold and Silver, Wood-Aloes, and Sable-Skins of which they make the Furniture of Saddles and Housings. In this same Country is the famous *Karkandan* or *Unicorn*, who has but one Horn upon his Forehead, and thereon a round Spot with the Representation of a Man. The whole Horn is black, except the Spot in the middle, which is white. The Unicorn is much smaller than the Elephant; from the Neck downwards he pretty much resembles the Bufflar; for Strength he is extraordinary, therein surpassing all other Creatures; his Hoof is not cloven; and from his Foot to his Shoulder he is all of a Piece. The Elephant flies from the Unicorn, whose low-

The Unicorn.

ing is like that of an Ox, with something of the Cry of a Camel. His Flesh is not forbidden, and we have eaten of it. There are great Numbers of this Creature in the Fens of this Kingdom, as also in all the other Provinces of the *Indies*; but the Horns of these are the most esteemed, and upon them are generally seen the Figures of Men, Peacocks, Fishes, and other Resemblances. The *Chinese* adorn their Girdles with these sorts of Figures; so that some of these Girdles are worth two or three thousand pieces of Gold in *China*, and sometimes more, the Price augmenting with the Beauty of the Figure. All the things, we have here enumerated, are to be purchased in the Kingdom of *Rakmi* for Shells, which are the current Money.

Kaschbin. After this Kingdom there is another which is an inland State, distant from the Coast, and call'd *Kaschbin*. The Inhabitants are white, and bore their Ears: They have Camels, and their Country is a Desert, and full of Mountains.

Hitrang. Farther on, upon the Coast, there is a small Kingdom called *Hitrang*, which is very poor; but it has a Bay, where the Sea throws up great Lumps of *Ambergreece*. They have also Elephants Teeth and Pepper; but the Inhabitants eat it green, because of the smallness of the Quantity they gather.

Mujet. Beyond these Kingdoms, here mentioned, there are others of number unknown, and among the rest that of *Mujet*. The Inhabitants

habitants are white, and dress after the *Chinese* Modē: Their Country is full of Mountains with white Tops and of very great Extent. Here are great Quantities of Musk, esteemed the most exquisite in the World. They have War with all the neighbouring Kingdoms. The Kingdom of *Mabed* is beyond that of *Mujet*; therein are many Cities, and the Inhabitants have a great Resemblance of the *Chinese*, even more than those of *Mujet*; for they have Officers or Eunuchs like those who govern the Cities among the *Chinese*. The Country of *Mabed* is conterminous with *China*, and is at peace with the Emperor of *China*, but is not subject to him.

The *Mabed* send every Year Ambassadors and Presents to the Emperor of *China*, who on his part sends Ambassadors and Presents to them. Their Country is of great Extent; and when the Ambassadors of the *Mabed* enter *China*, they are carefully watched, and never once allow'd to survey the Country, for fear they should form Designs of conquering it, which would be no difficult Task for them; because of their great Numbers, and because they are parted from *China*, only by Mountains, or by Rocks.

They say, that in the Kingdom of *China* there are above two hundred Cities which have Jurisdiction over several others, and have each a Prince or Governor, and an Eunuch or Lieutenant. *Cansu* is one of these Cities, being the Port for all Shipping, and presiding over twenty Towns.

Mabed,

The Mabed send Ambassadors to China.

The Number of Cities in China.

Trumpets.

A Town is dignify'd with the Title of City, when it is allowed some of those great *Chinese* Trumpets which are fashion'd after this manner: They are three or four Cubits in length, and are as much about as can be grasped with both Hands; but they grow narrower towards the End, which is fitted to the Mouth of a Man: On the Outside, they are coloured with *Chinese* Ink, and may be heard a Mile off. Each City has four Gates, at each of which are five of these Trumpets, which the *Chinese* sound at certain Hours of the Day and of the Night.

Drums.

Moreover, in each City are ten Drums, which they beat at the same time; and this they do as a public Token of their Obedience to the Emperor, as also to signify the Hour of the Day and of the Night; to which end they have also Dials and Clocks with Weights.

Copper Money.

They coin a great deal of Copper Money like what the *Arabs* know by the Name of *Falus*. They have Treasures like other Kings; but no others have this sort of small Money, which, and no other, is current all over the Country: For tho' they have Gold, Silver, Pearls, Silk, and rich Stuffs in great abundance, they consider them only as Moveables and Merchandize, and the Copper Pieces are the only current Coin. From foreign Parts they have Ivory, Frankincense, Copper in Pigs, Tortoise Shell, and the Unicorns Horns which we have mention'd, and with which they adorn their Girdles. Of their own
Stock,

Stock, they have Numbers of Beasts of Burthen; Horses, Asses, and Dromedaries; but they have no *Arabian* Horses. They have an excellent kind of Earth, where-with they make a Ware of equal Fineness with Glafs, and equally transparent.

Porcelain

When Merchants enter *China* by Sea, the *Chinese* seize on their Cargo, and convey it to Warehouses; and so put a stop to their Business for six Months, and till the last Merchantman be arrived. Then they take three in ten, or thirty *per Cent.* of each Commodity, and return the rest to the Merchant. If the Emperor wants any particular thing, his Officers have a right to take it preferably to any other Persons whatsoever; and paying for it to the utmost Penny it is valued at, they dispatch this Business immediately, and without the least Injustice. They commonly take Camphire, which they pay for after the rate of fifty *Fakuges per Man*, and the *Fakuge* is worth a thousand *Falus* or Pieces of Copper. When it happens that the Emperor does not take Camphire, it sells for half as much again.

*Vid. M. P.
l. 2. c. 79.
Merchants
how us'd in
China.*

The *Chinese* bury not their dead till the Day twelvemonth of their Decease. Till the Expiration of this Term, they keep them in Coffins; for having previously dried them with quick Lime, that they may keep, they place them in some part of their Houses. The Bodies of their Kings are embalmed with Aloes and Camphire. They mourn for three whole Years, all which time they weep their dead, and whoso-

*The Bur-
ials of the
Chinese.*

ANCIENT ACCOUNTS

ever should not do so, would be chastised with the Bamboo, a Punishment both Men and Women are liable to, at the same time that they are reproached, *What then thou art not concerned at the Death of thy Parent [or Relation]*? They bury their dead in deep Pits, much like those in use with the *Arabs*, till which is done, they constantly set Victuals before the Corpse; and as it is in the Evening that they thus administer meat and drink to their dead, if the next Morning they find nothing left, they imagine that they have both eaten and drank, and say, *The deceased hath eaten*. They cease not from bewailing their dead, nor from setting Meat and Drink before them as long as they are kept in the House; insomuch that their Expences upon these Occasions, and in thus paying the last Duties to their departed Relations, are so exorbitant, as often to ruin them, and consume their Wealth and Estates. Formerly they, with the dead Bodies of their Kings or others of the Royal Blood, buried very rich Apparel and those sorts of Girdles which we have observ'd to cost so much; but this Custom is now no more; because it has happened that the Bodies of some have been dug up by Thieves, for the sake of what was buried with them.

The Chinese learn to read and write.

The *Chinese* both poor and rich, great and small, learn to read and to write. The Titles of their Kings or Governors are varied to the Dignity and Rank of the Cities under them; those of the smaller Cities are called *Tsing*, and this Word signifies

nifies the Governor of a Town. Those of the greater Cities, as *Cansu* for Example, are stiled *Difu*; and the Eunuch or Lieutenant is titled *Tukam*. These Eunuchs are selected from the Inhabitants of the Cities. There is also a supreme Judge, and him they call *Lakshi-ma-makvan*; other Names they have for other Officers which we know not how properly to express.

No one is raised to the Dignity of a Prince or Governor of a City, till he has attained his fortieth Year, *For then, say they, he hath Experience.* When one of these Princes or petty Kings, keeps his Court in a City, he is seated upon a Tribunal, and receives the Petitions or Complaints of the People. Behind his Tribunal, is an Officer called *Licu*, who keeps standing, and, according to the Order he receives from the Prince, commits his Answer to Writing; for they never answer by Word of Mouth to any Business whatsoever, nor will they give any Answer at all to any thing that is not written. Before the Parties present their Petitions to the Prince, they get them examined by an Officer, who, if he discovers any Fault, sends them back again. For no Man may draw up these Writings which are to be presented to the Prince, except a Clerk versed in Business, and at the Bottom of each Writing they put, *Written by such a one, the Son of such a one*; and if, in this Case, there happen any Blunder or Mistake, the Clerk is bambood. The Prince never

Governors
of Cities.

seats himself on his Tribunal, till he has eaten and drank, for fear he should be mistaken in something; and each of these Princes or Governors has his Subsistence from the publick Treasury of the City he commands.

*The Empe-
ror of Chi-
na,*

The Emperor of *China*, who is above all these Princes or petty Kings, never appears in public but once in ten Months; saying, That if he shewed himself oftner to the People, they would lose the Veneration they have for him. For he holds it as a Maxim, That Principalities cannot subsist but by force, and that the People know not what Justice is; and that thus Constraint and Violence must be used to maintain, among them, the Majesty of Empire.

Taxes.

They have no Impost upon their Lands, but are subject only to a Poll Tax, which is levied upon Men only, and that, according to their Condition and Capacity. When any *Arabs*, or other Strangers are in this Country, the *Chinese* tax them in proportion to their Substance. When any Dearth makes Necessaries very dear, then does the King open his Storehouses, and sell all Sorts of Provisions much cheaper than they are to be had at Market; and hence no Dearth is of any long Continuance among the *Chinese*.

*The public
Treasury.*

The Sums that are gathered from the Capitation Tax, are laid up in the public Treasury; and, I believe, that, from this Tax, fifty thousand *Dinars* are every Day paid into the Treasury of *Canfu* alone,

alone, although this City be none of the largest in *China*.

The Emperor also reserves to himself the Revenues which arise from the Salt Mines, and from a certain Herb which they drink with hot Water, and of which great Quantities are sold in all the Cities, to the amount of great Sums. They call it *Sah*, and it is a Shrub more bushy than the Pomegranate-tree, and of a more taking Smell, but it has a kind of Bitterness with it. Their way is to boil Water, which they pour upon this Leaf, and this Drink cures all sorts of Diseases. Whatever Sums are lodged in the Treasury arise from the Poll Tax, and the Duties upon Salt and upon this Leaf.

The Emperor's Revenues.

In each City there is a small Bell hung to the Wall above the Prince's or Governor's head; and this Bell may be rung by a String which reaches about three Miles, and crosses the high Way, to the end that People may get at it. When the String is pulled, the Bell strikes over the Governor's Head, and strait he commands, that the Person, who thus demands Justice, be brought before him; and accordingly the Complainant sets forth his Case in Person, and the Wrongs he suffers. And the same Practice is in use throughout all the other Provinces.

A small Bell.

If a Man would travel from one Place to another, he must take two Passes with him; the one from the Governor, the other from the Eunuch or Lieutenant. The Governor's

Passes for Travellers.

ANCIENT ACCOUNTS

nor's Pass permits him to set out on his Journey, and takes notice of the Name of the Traveller, and of those also of his Company, the Age and Family of the one and the other: For every body in *China*, whether a Native, or an *Arab*, or any other Foreigner, is obliged to declare all he knows of himself, nor can he possibly be excused the so doing. The Eunuch's or Lieutenant's Pass specifies the Quantities of Money or Goods which the Traveller and those with him, take along with them. And this is done for the Information of the Frontier places, where these two Passes are examined; for whenever a Traveller arrives at any of them, it is registered, *That such a one, the Son of such a one, of such a Family, passed through this Place on such a Day, in such a Month, in such a Year, and in such Company.* And by this means they prevent any one from carrying off the Money or Effects of other Persons, or their being lost: So that if any thing has been carried off unjustly, or the Traveller dies on the Road, they immediately know what is become of the Things, and they are either restored to the Claimant, or to the Heirs.

*Admini-
stration of
Justice.*

The *Chinese* administer Justice with great Strictness in all their Tribunals. When any Person enters his Action against another, he sets down his Claim in writing, and the Defendant writes down his Defence, which he signs, and holds between his Fingers. These two writings are delivered

livered in together, and being examined, Sentence is pronounced in writing, and the Parties have each his Paper returned to him; but first they give back to the Defendant his writing of Defence, that he may acknowledge it. When one Party denies what the other affirms, he is ordered to return his Writing; and if the Defendant thinks he may do it safely, and accordingly delivers in his Paper again, they also call for that of the Plaintiff, and then they say to him who denies what the other seems to have reason to maintain, *Exhibit a Writing whereby to make it appear that your Antagonist has no right to demand of you what is in debate; but if it clearly betrays the Truth of what you deny, you shall undergo twenty Strokes of the Bamboo upon the Backside, and pay a Fine of twenty Fakuges, which make about two hundred Dinars.* Now this Punishment is such as the Criminal could not survive: It is so grievous that no Person in all China, may, of his own Authority, inflict it upon another, upon pain of Death, and Confiscation of goods. And so no Body is ever so hardy as to expose himself to so certain a Danger; wherefore Justice is well administered, and very exactly distributed to every one. They require no Witnesses, nor put the Parties upon Oath.

When any Man becomes a Bankrupt, and has wasted the Substance of his Creditors, they throw him into a Prison in the Governor's Palace, and he is immediately put upon his Declaration. After he has been a Month in Prison, he is released

Their Methods with Bankrupts.

leased by the Governor's Order, and Proclamation is made, *That such a one, the Son of such a one, has consumed the Substance of such a one; and that if he has any Effects in the Hands of any Person, Lands, Reversions, or Wealth in any other Shape whatsoever, it must be made known within the Term of a Month.* In the mean time the Bankrupt is bambooz'd on the Backside, if Discovery is made of any Effects of his, and at the same time is upbraided with having been a Month in Prison, eating and drinking, tho' he had where withal to satisfy his Creditors. He is chastised in the same manner, whether he makes Declaration of his Effects or not. They reproach him that his Business is to get the Substance of private Persons into his Hands, and embezzle it; and that he ought not so to defraud those he had dealings with, by stripping them of their Property. But after all, if they cannot discover him to have been guilty of any Fraud, and if it is proved to the Prince that the Man has nothing in the World, the Creditors are called in, and receive a part of their Debt out of the Treasury of the *Bagbun*, (this is the ordinary Title of the Emperor of *China*, and signifies *The Son of Heaven*; but we commonly pronounce it after a different manner, and call him, *Magbun*.) Then it is publicly forbidden to buy of, or sell any thing to this Man upon pain of Death, and so he cannot defraud any of his Creditors by concealing their Money. If discovery be made that he has any Sums in
the

the Hands of another, and if the Person he intrusts makes no Declaration, he is bamboo'd to death, and nothing is said to the Proprietor or Bankrupt. The Sums that they discover are divided among the Creditors, and the Debtor or Bankrupt must never more concern himself with Trade.

The *Chinese* have a Stone ten Cubits high, erected in the public Squares, and on this Stone are grav'd the Names of all sorts of Medicines, with the exact rates of each; and when the poor stand in need of any Relief from Physic, they go to the Treasury, where they receive the Price each Medicine is rated at.

A Stone on which is the Price of Medicines.

There is no Land Tax in *China*; they only levy so much *per Head*, according to the Wealth and Possessions of the Subject. When a Male Child is born, his Name is immediately entered into the King's Books, and when this Child has attained his eighteenth Year, he begins to pay for his Head; but they demand it not of the Man who has seen his eightieth Year; on the contrary he receives a Gratification, by way of Pension, from the public Treasury; and in doing this, the *Chinese* say, That they give him this Gratification in his old days, in acknowledgment for what they receiv'd of him when he was young.

Poll Tax.

There are Schools in every Town for teaching the Poor and their Children to write and read, and the Masters are paid at the public Charge. The Women wear nothing

Schools.

ANCIENT ACCOUNTS

nothing on their Heads but their Hair, whereas the Men are covered.

In *China* there is a Hamlet called *Tayu*, which is a Castle advantageously seated on a Hill, and all the Strong-holds in *China* are called by the same Name.

The *Chinese* are for the most part handsome, of comely Stature, fair, and by no means addicted to Excesses of Wine; their Hair is blacker than the Hair of any other Nation in the World; and the *Chinese* Women curl theirs.

[S]
Proof by
red hot
Iron.

In the *Indies*, when one Man accuses another of a Crime punishable with Death, it is customary to ask the Accused if he is willing to go thro' the Tryal by Fire; and if he answers in the affirmative, they heat a Piece of Iron till it is red hot: This done, they tell him to stretch forth his Hand, and upon it they put seven Leaves of a Tree they have in the *Indies*, and upon these Leaves they put the red hot Iron; and in this Condition he walks backwards and forwards for some time, and then throws off the Iron. Immediately after this, they put his Hand into a leathern Bag, which they seal with the Prince's Signet; and if at the End of three Days he appears and declares that he has suffered no Hurt, they order him to take out his Hand, when, if no Sign of Fire is seen, they declare him innocent, and delivered from the Punishment which threatned him; and his Accuser his condemned to pay a *Man* of Gold as a Fine to the Prince. Some-

OF INDIA and CHINA.

31

Sometimes they boil Water in a Caldron till it is so hot that no one may approach it; then they throw an Iron Ring into it, and command the Person accused to thrust his Hand down, and bring up the Ring. I saw one who did this, and receiv'd no manner of Hurt. The Accuser is in this Case also to pay a *Man of Gold*.

*Scalding
Water.*

When a King dies in the Island of *Sarandib*, they lay his Body on a Car, in such a manner that his Head hangs backwards till it almost touches the Ground, and his Hair is upon the Earth; and this Car is followed by a Woman with a Broom in her Hand, therewith to sweep Dust on the Face of the deceased, while she cries out with a loud Voice; *O Men! behold your King who was yesterday your Master; but now the Empire he exercised over you is vanished and gone. He is reduced to the State you behold, having left the World; and the Arbitrer of Death hath withdrawn his Soul. Reckon therefore no more upon the uncertain Hopes of Life.* This Cry, and some others like it, they continue for three Days, after which the dead Body of the King is embalmed with Sandal Wood, Camphire, and Saffron, and is then burnt, and the Ashes are scatter'd abroad to the Wind. It is a universal Custom all over the *Indies*, to burn the Bodies of the dead. The Island of *Sarandib* is the last of the Islands of the *Indies*. When they burn a King it is usual for his Wives to jump into the Fire, and

[T]
*The Fun-
eral Rites
of the King
of Saran-
dib.*

[AA]

to.

Indian
Penitents.

to burn with him; but this they are not constrained to do if they are not willing.

In the *Indies* there are Men who profess to live in the Woods and Mountains, and to despise what other Men most value. These abstain from every thing but such wild Herbs and Fruits as spring forth in the Woods, and put an Iron Buckle upon their natural Parts, that they may not be able to have any Commerce with Women. Some of them are quite naked, or have only a Leopard's Skin thrown over them; and in this Plight keep standing with their Faces turned to the Sun. I formerly saw one in the Posture I have described, and returning to the *Indies* about sixteen Years afterwards, I found him in the very same Attitude, and was astonished he had not lost his Eyesight by the Heat of the Sun.

The Succession of Families in one and the same Business.

In all these Kingdoms the sovereign Power resides in the Royal Family, and never departs from it; and those of this Family succeed each other. In like manner there are Families of Learned Men, of Physicians, and of all the Artificers concerned in Architecture, and none of these ever mix with a Family of a Profession different from their own.

Balhara.

The several States of the *Indies* are not subject to one and the same King, but each Province has its own King; nevertheless the *Balhara* is, in the *Indies*, as King of Kings.

[U]
The Chinese not given to Wine.

The *Chinese* are fond of Gaming and all manner of Diversions: On the contrary, the

the *Indians* condemn them, and have no Pleasure in them. They drink no Wine, nor admit Vinegar, because it is made of Wine; and yet they abstain not therefrom as a religious Duty, but for another Reason: They say that if a King is given to Wine, he ought not to be deemed a King; for, add they, as there are frequent Wars with the neighbouring States, how should a Drunkard manage the Affairs of his Kingdom?

The Wars they wage with the neighbouring Princes, are not usually undertaken with a view to possess themselves of the adjoining Dominions; and I never heard of any, but the People bordering upon the Pepper Country, that have seized on the Possessions of their Neighbours after a Victory. When a Prince makes himself Master of some Kingdom, he confers the Government thereof upon some Person of the Royal Family of the conquered Country, and thus he keeps it in Subjection to himself, apprehending the Natives would never agree to be otherwise governed.

*Wars with
their
Neigh-
bours.*

When any one of the Princes or Governors of Cities, within the Dominions of the Emperor of *China*, is guilty of a Crime, he is put to death, and eaten; and in general it may be said, that the *Chinese* eat all those that are put to death.

*The Pun-
ishment
of bad Gov-
ernors.*

When the *Indians* and *Chinese* are about to marry, both Parties come to an Agreement, then Presents are made, and at last the Marriage is celebrated with the

Marriage.

D

Sound.

ANCIENT ACCOUNTS

Sound of many sorts of Instruments and Drums. The Presents they send consist of Money, and in this every one does what he can afford.

The Punishment of a Rape.

Of Theft.

The Debauchery of the Chinese.

Buildings.

Polygamy.

Rice their chief Food.

If any Man in the *Indies* runs away with a Woman, and abuses her Body, they kill both him and the Woman, unless it be proved that she was forced, then the Man only is punished with death; but if the Woman consented to the evil Deed, they are punished with death, both the one and the other. Theft is always death, as well in the *Indies* as in *China*, whether the Theft be considerable or inconsiderable; and particularly in the *Indies*, where if a Thief has stolen but the value of a small Peice of Money, or a thing of greater worth, they take a long, strong, and sharp Stake, which they apply to his Fundament, and thrust it through, till it comes out at his Neck.

The *Chinese* are addicted to the hateful Vice, and the filthy Practice of it, they number among the indifferent things they perform in honour of their Idols.

The *Chinese* Buildings are of Wood; whereas the *Indians* build with Stone, Plaster, Brick and Mortar. After the same manner they build in many parts of *China*.

The *Chinese* and *Indians* are not satisfied with one Wife; but both the one and the other marry as many as they please.

Rice is the most common Food of the *Indians*, who eat no Wheat; whereas the *Chinese*

Chinese eat of Rice and Wheat indifferently. Circumcision is practised neither by the *Indians* nor the *Chinese*.

The *Chinese* worship Idols, pray to them; *Idolatry.* and fall down before them; and they have Books which explain the Articles of their Religion.

The *Indians* suffer their Beards to grow; *Beards.* and I have seen one of them with a Beard three Cubits long. They wear no Whiskers; but the *Chinese*, for the most part, have no Beard, and shave all smooth. The *Indians*, upon the death of a Relation, shave both Head and Face.

When any Man in the *Indies* is cast in- *Vide Bar-*
to Prison, they allow him neither Victuals *hos. p. 305.*
nor Drink for seven Days together; and *d.*
this, with them, answers the end of other Tortures to extort from the Criminal a Confession of the Truth.

The *Chinese* have Judges, besides the Go- *Judges in*
vernors, who decide in Causes between *private*
Subject and Subject, and the same they *Causes.*
have in the *Indies*.

Both in *China* and in the *Indies* there *No Lion.*
are Leopards and Wolves; but no Lions in the one Country or the other. Highway Robbers are punished with death.

Both the *Chinese* and the *Indians* imagine *Supersti-*
the Idols they worship speak to them, and *tion.*
give them Answers.

Neither the one nor the other kill their *Vide Mar.*
Meat by cutting the Throat, as do the *Pol. l. 2.*
Mo- *Manner of*
ammedans, but by beating them on the *killing*
Mouth till they die. *Meat.*

Cleanliness
Trig. 1.
p. 71.

They wash not with Well-Water. The *Chinese* wipe themselves with Paper; where-as the *Indians* wash every Day before they eat.

The *Indians* touch not their Wives while their Custom is upon them, but turn them out of their Houses and avoid them. The *Chinese*, on the contrary, have commerce with them during that time; and turn them not out of their Houses.

The *Indians* wash, not only the Mouth, but the whole Body also, before they eat, which the *Chinese* observe not.

Extent of
China.

The Country of the *Indies* is more in Extent than that of *China*, and exceeds it by the one half. The number of Kingdoms is greater in the *Indies* than in *China*, but *China* is the most populous of the two. It is not usual to see Palm-Trees either in the *Indies* or in *China*; but they have all other sorts of Trees, and Fruits which we have not. The *Indians* have no Grapes, and the *Chinese* have not many; but both abound in numbers of other Fruits, tho' the Pomegranate thrives more plentifully in *India* than in *China*.

The Chinese ignorant of the Sciences.

The *Chinese* have no Sciences, and their Religion and most of their Laws are derived from the *Indians*; nay, they are of Opinion, that the *Indians* taught them the Worship of Idols, and consider them as a very religious Nation. Both the one and the other believe the *Metempsychosis*; but they differ in many Points touching the Precepts of their Religion.

[Y]

Physic

Physic and Philosophy are cultivated among the *Indians*, and the *Chinese* have some Skill in Medicine; but it almost wholly consists in the Art of applying hot Irons, or Cauteries. They have also some smattering of Astronomy; but therein the *Indians* surpass the *Chinese*.

Theve-
not v.3. p.
170.

I know not that there is any one of either Nation that has embraced *Mohammedism* or speaks *Arabic*.

Few have
embraced
Moham-
medism.

The *Indians* have but few *Horses*, and there are more in *China*; but the *Chinese* have no *Elephants*, and cannot endure to have them in their Country, for they abhor them.

Horses and
Elephants.

The *Indian* Dominions furnish a great number of *Soldiers*, who are not paid by the King, but when they are rendezvoused for War, take the Field entirely at their own Expence, and are no charge to the King; whereas the *Chinese* allow their Forces much the same the *Arabs* allow theirs.

Soldiers.

China is a pleasant and a fruitful Country. Most of the *Indian* Provinces have no Cities; whereas in *China* they are many in number, great in Extent, and well fortified.

Beauty of
the Coun-
try.

The Climate of *China* is more wholesome, and the Country itself is less fenny; the Air there is also much better; and scarce is there a One eyed, or a Blind Person to be seen, or any one subject to the like Afflictions; and the same Advantage is enjoyed by several Provinces of the *Indies*.

The Cli-
mate.

dies. The Rivers of these two Countries are large and surpass our greatest Rivers. *Rains.* Much Rain falls in both these Countries. In the *Indies* are many Desert Tracts; but *China* is inhabited and peopled throughout its whole Extent.

The Persons of the Chinese.

The *Chinese* are more handsom than the *Indians*, and come nearer to the *Arabs*, not only in Countenance, but in their Dress, in their way of Riding, in their Manners, and in their processional Ceremonies. They wear long Garments, and Girdles in form of Belts, or Baldrics.

The *Indians* wear two short Vests; and the Men as well as the Women wear golden Bracelets, adorned with precious Stones.

Targazgaz.

Beyond the Continent of *China*, there is a Country called *Tagazgaz*, from the Name of a Nation of the *Turks*, who there inhabit; and also the Country of *Kakhan* or *Tibet*, which is conterminous with the Country of the *Turks*.

Isles of Sila.

Seaward are the Islands of *Sila*, inhabited by white People, who send Presents to the Emperor of *China*, and who are persuaded that if they did not send him Presents, the Rain of Heaven would not be showered down upon their Country. None of our People have been there to inform us concerning them. They have white Falcons.



THE
SECOND ACCOUNT:
OR, THE
DISCOURSE
OF
Abu Zeid al Hasan of Siraf.

*Concerning the Voyage to the Indies and
China.*



HAVE carefully examined the Book I have been ordered to peruse, that I might confirm what the Author relates, when he agrees with what I have heard, concerning the Things of the Sea, the Kingdoms on the Coasts, and the State of the Countries; and that I might also add, upon this Head, what I have elsewhere gathered concerning them, and is not to be found in this Book.

D 4

I find

The Author's Preface.

ANCIENT ACCOUNTS

I find it was written in the Year of the
Of 7. C. *Hejra CCXXXVII*, and that the Accounts
DCCCLX the Author gives touching the Things of
 the Sea were, in his Time, very true and
 agreeable to what I have understood from
 Merchants who depart from *Irak*, to sail
 upon those Seas. I find also that all
 the Author writes is agreeable to Truth,
 excepting some Passages.

*Meat set
 before the
 Dead.*

Speaking of the Custom of setting Meat
 before the Dead, which he attributes to
 the *Chinese*, he says, When they have
 served up the Meat over Night, and find
 nothing the next Morning, they cry *the
 Deceased hath eaten*. This same Thing we
 had been told and believed it, till we
 met with a Man of undoubted Credit,
 whom he asked concerning this Custom;
 and he answered that the Fact was not
 so, and that this Notion was groundless,
 as well as what is vulgarly said of the
 idolatrous Nations, that they imagin their
 Idols speak to them.

*Alterations in
 China.*

He told us also that since those Days
 the Affairs of *China* had put on quite a-
 nother Face; and since much is related, to
 shew the Reason why the Voyages to
China are interrupted, and how the Coun-
 try has been ruined, many Customs a-
 bolished, and the Empire divided, I will
 here declare what I know of the Causes
 of this Revolution.

The great Troubles which have em-
 broiled the Affairs of this Empire, which
 have put a Stop to the Justice and Righ-
 teousness

teousness there formerly practised, and which have, in fine, interrupted the ordinary Navigation from *Siraf* to *China*, sprang from this Source.

An Officer, who was considerable for his Employ, though not of the Royal Family, revolted some Time ago. This Man's Name was *Baichu*, and he began with Hostilities in the Country, marching his Arms into many Places to the great Loss of the Inhabitants, till winning a Party over to him by his Liberalities, he got together a Multitude of Vagabonds and abandoned People, whom he formed into a considerable Body of Troops. His Hands thus strengthened, and himself in a Condition to undertake any Thing, he betrayed his Design of subduing the Empire to himself, and strait marched to *Canfu*, one of the most noted Cities in *China*, and, at that Time, the Port for all the *Arabian* Merchants. This City stands upon a great River, some Days distant from the Entrance, so that the Water there is fresh: But the Citizens shutting their Gates against him, he resolved to besiege the Place, and the Siege lasted a great while. This was transacted in the Year of the *Hejra* CCLXIV, and of *Christ* DCCCLXXVII. At last he became Master of the City, and put all the Inhabitants to the Sword. There are Persons fully acquainted with the Affairs of *China*, who assure us, that besides the *Chinese*, who were massacred upon this Occasion,

*A great
Revolution
in China.*

ANCIENT ACCOUNTS

Occasion, there perished one Hundred and twenty Thousand *Mohammedans*, *Jews*, *Christians*, and *Parsees*, who were there on Account of Traffic. The Number of the Professors of these four Religions, who thus perished, is exactly known; because the *Chinese* are extremely nice in the Accounts they keep of them. He also cut down the Mulberry Trees, and almost all the Trees of other Kinds; but we speak of the Mulberry in particular, because the *Chinese* carefully cultivate it for the sake of its Leaf, wherewith they subsist and propagate their Silk-worms. This Devastation is the Cause why Silk has failed, and that the Trade which us'd to be driven with it, in the Countries under the *Arabs*, is quite stagnated.

Many Cities taken
by the Rebel.

Having sacked and destroyed *Canfu*, he possessed himself of many other Cities, which he attacked one after another, the Emperor of *China* not having it in his Power to stop his Progress. He advanced then to the capital City called *Cumdan*; and the Emperor left this his royal Seat, making a confused Retreat to the City of *Hamdu*, on the Frontiers towards the Province of *Tibet*. Mean while the Rebel, puffed up by his great Successes, and perceiving himself Master of the Country, fell upon the other Cities, which he demolished, having first slain most of the Inhabitants, with a View in this general Butchery to involve all the Branches of the Royal Blood, that no one might

might survive to dispute the Empire with him. We had the News of these Revolutions and of the total Ruin of *China*, which still continues.

Thus were Affairs, and the Rebel stood uncontroled by any Disadvantage that might take away from his Power and Authority. At last the Emperor of *China* wrote to the King of *Tagazgaz*, in *Turkestan*, which whom, besides the nearness of his Dominions, he was in some degree allyed by Marriage; and at the same Time sent an Embassy to him to implore his Deliverance from this Rebel. Upon this the King of *Tagazgaz* dispatched his Son, at the Head of a very numerous Army, to fight the Rebel; and after many Battles, and almost continual Skirmishes, he utterly defeated him. It was never known what became of the Rebel. Some believe he fell in Battle, while others think he ended his Days another way.

The King of Tagazgaz assists the Emperor of China.

The Emperor of *China* returned then to *Cumdan*; and altho' he was extremely weakned, and almost dispirited because of the Embezzlement of his Treasures, and the Loss of his Captains and best Troops, and because of all the late Calamities; he nevertheless made himself Master of all the Provinces which had been conquered from him. However he laid no Hands on the Goods of his Subjects, but satisfied himself with what remained in his Coffers, and the Fragments

The Emperor returns to Cumdan

ANCIENT ACCOUNTS

ments of the Public Money. His Condition indispensibly obliged him to take up with what his Subjects would give him, and to require nothing from them but Obedience to his Mandates, forbearing to squeeze Money from them, because the Kings or Governors had made away with it.

The Division of China into many Principalities.

And thus China became almost like the Empire of Alexander, after the Defeat and Death of Darius, when he divided the Provinces, he took from the Persian, between several Princes, who erected themselves into so many Kings. For now each of these Chinese Princes joined with some other to wage War upon a third, without consulting the Emperor; and when the strongest had subdued the weakest, and become Master of his Province, all was wasted, and unmercifully plundered, and the Subjects of the vanquished Prince were unnaturally devoured; a Cruelty allowed by the Laws of their Religion, which even permit human Flesh to be exposed to Sale in the public Markets.

Disorders consequent to the Civil Wars.

From these Combustions there arose many unjust Dealings with the Merchants who traded thither, which having gathered the Force of a Precedent, there was no Grievance, no Treatment so bad but they exercised upon the foreign Arabs, and the Masters of Ships. They extorted from the Merchants what was uncustomary, they seized upon their Effects, and

and behaved towards them in a Method of Procedure quite contrary to the ancient Usages. And for these Things has God punished them by withdrawing his Blessings from upon them in every Respect, and particularly by causing the Navigation to be forsaken, and the Merchants to return in Crouds to *Sraf* and *Oman*, pursuant to the infallible Orders of the Almighty Master, whose Name be blessed.

The Author, in his Book, notes some Customs and Laws of the *Chinese*, but mentions not the Punishment inflicted on married Persons, when convicted of Adultery. This Crime, as well as Homicide, and Theft is punished with Death, and they execute the Criminal in this Manner: They bind both the Hands together, and then force them backwards over the Head till they rest upon the Neck; they then fasten the right Foot to the right Hand, and the left Foot to the left Hand; so that both Hands and Feet are strongly bound behind the Back, and thus bundled up it is impossible for the Criminal to stir, nor wants he any Body to hold him. This Torture disjoins the Neck, makes the Vertebrae start from their Connections, and dislocates the Thighs; in short, the Party is in so miserable a Condition, that were he to continue therein but for a few Hours, there would be no need of any Thing else to make an End of him. But when they have bound him, as we have said, they strike him with a Staff

The Punishment of Adultery, Homicide, and Theft.

ANCIENT ACCOUNTS

Staff [*Bamboo*] which they always use upon the like Occasions, and which alone were sufficient to kill the Criminal. With this they give him a certain Number of Blows, a Number they never exceed, and then leave off, when he is at the very last Gasp of Life, and forsake the Body to People who eat it.

Public
Women.

There are Women in *China* who refuse to marry, and chuse rather a dissolute Life, and perpetual Debauchery. The Custom is, for these Women to present themselves in full Audience before the commanding Officer of the Garrison in the City, and declare their Aversion to Marriage, and their Desire to be numbered with the public Women. They then desire to be registred in the usual Form, among these Prostitutes, and the Form is such: They write down the Name of the Woman, her Family, the Number of her Jewels, the several *Items* of her Attire, and the Place of her Abode; thus is she admitted a public Woman. After this they put about her Neck a String, at which hangs a Copper Ring, with the King's Signet; and deliver to her a Writing, which certifies that she is received into the List of common Prostitutes, and intitles her to a yearly Stipend of so many *Falus* to be paid her out of the public Treasury, and threatens with Death the Person who should take her to Wife. They every Year give public Notice of what is to be observed with regard to these

these Women; and turn off those who are too barren of Charms. In the Evening these Women walk abroad in Dresses of different Colours, without any Veil, and prostitute themselves to all new comers that loved Debauchery; but the *Chinese* themselves send for them to their Houses, whence they depart not till the next Morning. Praised be God, who hath rescued us from the like Infamy!

The *Chinese* coin no Money besides the little Pieces of Copper, like those we call *Falus*, nor will they allow Gold or Silver to be wrought into Specie, like the *Dinars* and *Drams* that are current with us. For, say they, if a Thief goes, with an evil Intent, into the House of an *Arab*, where is Gold and Silver Coin, he may carry off ten thousand Pieces of Gold, and almost as many Pieces of Silver, and not be much burdened therewith, and so be the ruin of the Man who should suffer this Loss; whereas if a Thief has the same Design upon the House of a *Chinese* Artificer, he cannot, at most, take away above ten thousand *Falus* or Pieces of Copper, which do not make ten *Miticals* or *Dinars* of Gold. These Pieces of Copper are allayed with something of a different kind, and are of the Size of a *Dram*, or Piece of Silver called *Bagli*; and in the middle they have a pretty large Hole to string them by. A thousand of them are worth a *Mitical* of Gold, or a *Dinar*; and they string them by thousands, with a Knot between every hundred. All their

Copper
Money.

ANCIENT ACCOUNTS

their Payments in general are made with this Money, whether they buy or sell Lands, Furniture, Merchandize, or any thing else. There are some of these Pieces at *Siraf*, with *Chinese* Characters upon them.

*Chinese.
Buildings.*

There is no particular Remark to be made upon the frequent Fires which happen in *China*, and the *Chinese* manner of Building. The City of *Cansu* is built in the manner he describes, that is, of Wood; with Canes interwoven just like our Works of split Cane. They do the whole over with a particular consistence they make of Hemp-Seed, which becomes as white as Milk, and when the Walls are covered therewith, they have a wonderful Gloss.

Varnish.

*Inside of
their Houses.*

They have no Stairs in their Houses, nor do they build with different Stories; but put every thing they have into Chests which run upon Wheels, and which, in cases of Fire, they can easily draw from place to place, without any hindrance from Stairs, and so save their things presently.

*Eunuchs
in Office.*

As for the inferior Officers in their Cities, they commonly have the Direction of the Customs, and the Keys of the Treasury. Some of these have been taken on the Frontiers, and castrated; others of them have been cut by their own Fathers, who have sent them as a Present to the Emperor. These Officers are at the head of the principal Affairs of State, of the Emperors private Affairs, and of his Treasures; and those, particularly, who are sent to *Cansu*, are selected from this Body.

It

It is customary for them, as well as the Kings or Governors of all the Cities, to appear abroad, from time to time, in solemn Procession. At these times they are preceded by Men who carry great Pieces of Wood, like those the Christians, of the *Levant*, use instead of Bells. The Noise they make is heard afar off, and as soon as it is heard, no Man stands in the way of the Eunuch, or Prince. If a Man is at his Door, he goes into his House, and keeps his Door shut, till the Prince, or Eunuch of the City is gone by. So no Soul is to be seen in the way; and this is in-joined that they may be held in the greater Veneration, to strike a Dread, that the People may not see them often, and that they may not grow so familiar as to speak to them.

*Their so-
lemn Appe-
arance in
the Cities.*

The Eunuch or Lieutenant, and the principal Officers wear very magnificent Silk Dresses, of so fine a kind, that none thereof is brought into the Country Subject to the *Arabs*, the *Chinese* keep it up at so high a rate. One of the chief Merchants, whose words cannot be called in question, relates that he waited on an Eunuch, whom the Emperor had sent to *Cansu*, in order to purchase some things he wanted from among the goods that are carried thither from the Country of the *Arabs*: And that upon his Breast he perceived a short Vest, which was under another silk Vest, and which seemed to be even between two other Vests of the same kind;

*Their
Dress.*

E

that

that the Eunuch observing him to look stedfastly upon his Breast, said, *I see you keep your Eyes fixed upon my Stomach; what may be the meaning of it?* The Merchant answered; *I am surprised at the Beauty of that little Vest, which appears under your other Garments.* The Eunuch laughed and held out his Shirt Sleeve to him, Count, says he, *how many Vests I have above it.* He did so, and counted five, one upon another, and the Wastecoat or short Vest was underneath. These Garments are wove with raw Silk which has never been washed nor fulled; and what is worn by the Princes or Governors is still more rich, and more exquisitely wrought.

The Chinese expert Artists.

The Chinese surpass all Nations in every kind of Art, and particularly in Painting; and, with their Hands, they perform such perfect Works as others can but faintly imitate. When an Artificer has finished a fine Piece, he carries it to the Prince's Palace to demand the Reward, he thinks he deserves for the beauty of his Performance; and the Custom is for the Prince to order him to leave his Work at the Palace Gate, where it must stand a whole Year. If during that time no Person finds a Fault in it, the Artificer is rewarded, and admitted into the body of Artists; but if the least Fault he found, it is rejected, and the Workman is sent away empty. It happened once, that one of their Painters drew an Ear of Corn, with a Bird perched on it, upon a piece of Silk; and his Performance

was

was so exceeding fine, that all who beheld it were astonished thereat. This Piece stood exposed to public View, till, one Day, a crooked Fellow, passing by the Palace, found Fault with the Picture, and was immediately conducted to the Prince or Governor of the City, who at the same time sent for the Painter. Then he asked this crooked Fellow what Fault he had to find with this piece of Paint; to which he answered, *Every body knows that a Bird never settles upon an Ear of Corn but it bends under him; and here this Painter has represented his Ear bolt upright, though he has perched a Bird upon it; and this is the Fault I have to find.* This was pronounced a very just Observation, and the Prince bestowed no Reward upon the Artist. They pretend by this, and other means, to stimulate their Workmen to the Attainment of Perfection, by thus engaging them to be extremely nice and circumspect in what they undertake, and to apply their whole Mind to what is to go out of their Hands.

There was formerly a Man of the Tribe of *Koreish*, whose Name was *Ebn Wahab*, descended of *Hebar* the Son of *Al Asud*, and he dwelt at *Basra*. This Man left *Basra*, when that City was sacked, and came to *Siraf*, where he saw a Ship ready to make sail for *China*. The mind took him to go on board of this Ship, and in her he went to *China*, where in the Sequel he had the Curiosity to travel to the Emperor's Court; and leaving *Cansu*

The Story of an Arab who went to China,

he reached *Cumdan* after a Journey of two Months. He staid a long Time at the Emperor's Court, and presented several Petitions, wherein he signified that he was of the Family of the Prophet of the *Arabs*. Having waited a considerable while, the Emperor at last ordered him to be lodged in a House, appointed for him, and to be supplied with every thing he should want. This done, the Emperor wrote to the Governor of *Canfu*, commanding him carefully to inform himself, among the Merchants, concerning the Relation this Man pretended to bear to the Prophet of the *Arabs*: And the Governor, by his Answers, confirming the Truth of what he had said, touching his Extraction, the Emperor gave him Audience, and made him rich Presents, wherewith he returned to *Irak*.

His Discourse with the Emperor concerning the Arabs.

This Man, when we saw him, was well advanced in Years, but had his Senses perfectly about him; and told us that, when he had his Audience, the Emperor asked him many Questions about the *Arabs*, and particularly how they had destroyed the Kingdom of the *Persians*. *Ebn Wabab* made answer, that they did it by the Assistance of God, and because the *Persians* were involved in Idolatry, adoring the Stars, the Sun, and Moon, instead of worshipping the true God. To this the Emperor replied, that the *Arabs* had conquered the most illustrious Kingdom of the whole Earth, the best cultivated,

vated, the most opulent, the most pregnant of fine Wits, and of the most extensive Fame. Then said he, *What Account do the People in your Parts make of the other Kings of the Earth?* To which the Arab replied, that he knew them not. Then said the Emperor to the Interpreter, *Tell him we esteem but five Kings; that he whose Kingdom is of widest Extent is the same who is Master of Irak, for he is in the midst of the World, and surrounded by the Territories of other Kings; and we find he is called the King of Kings.* After him we reckon our Emperor, here present, and we find that he is stiled the *King of Mankind*; for no other King is invested with a more absolute Power and Authority over his Subjects, nor is there a People, under the Sun, more dutiful and submissive to their Sovereign than the People of this Country; we therefore, in this respect, are the *Kings of Men*. After us is the King of the *Turks*, whose Kingdom borders upon us, and him we call the *King of Lions*. Next, the *King of Elephants*, the same is the King of the *Indies*, whom we also call the *King of Wisdom*; because he derives his Origin from the *Indians*. And, last of all, the *King of Greece*, whom we stile the *King of Men*; for, upon the face of the whole Earth, there are no Men of better Manners, nor of comlier Presence than his Subjects: These, added he, are the most illustrious of all Kings, nor are the others to compare with them.

The Emperor's Questions concerning the Arabs and others.

Then, said *Ebn Wabab*, he ordered the Interpreter to ask me, *If I knew my Master and my Lord, meaning the Prophet, and if I had seen him?* I made answer, *How should I have seen him, who is with God?* He replied, *That is not what I mean, I ask you what Sort of a Man he was in his Person.* I replied, that he was very handsome. Then he called for a great Box, and, opening it, he took out another contained therein, which he set before him, and said to the Interpreter, *Shew him his Master and his Lord;* and I saw in the Box the Images of the Prophets, whereat I moved my Lips, praying to my self in honour of their Memory. The Emperor did not imagin I should know them again, and said to the Interpreter, *Ask him why he moves his Lips?* I answered, I was praying in Memory of the Prophets. *How do you know them?* Said the Emperor. I replied, that I knew them by the Representation of their Histories: *There, said I, is Noah in the Ark, who was saved with those that were with him, when God sent down the Waters of the Flood; and he afterwards peopled the whole Earth with those that were with him at the same time; and I made the usual Salute to Noah and his Company. Then the Emperor laughed and said; Thou art not mistaken in the Name of Noah, and thou hast named him right; but*

Noah.

The Flood.

as for the universal Deluge it is what we know not. It is true, indeed, that a Flood covered a part of the Earth; but it reached not our

our Country, nor even the Indies. I made my Answer to this, and endeavoured to remove his Objections the best I could, and then said again to him, *There is Moses with his Rod and the Children of Israel.* He agreed with me as to the small Extent of their Country, and the Manner how the ancient Inhabitants, there, were destroyed by *Moses.* I then said to him, *He there, is Jesus upon an Ass, and here are his Apostles with him.* He, said the Emperor, was not long upon Earth, seeing that all he did was transacted within the Space of somewhat better than thirty Months. After this Ebn Wakab saw the Histories of the other Prophets, represented in the same Manner we have briefly declared, and he fancied that what was written in great Characters under each Figure, might be the Names of the Prophets, the Countries whence they were, and the Objects of their Prophecies.

Moses.

Jesus
Christ.

Then, said the same Ebn Wakab, I saw the Image of Mohammed riding upon a Camel, and his Companions about him on their Camels, with Shooes of the Arabesque Mode on their Feet, and leathern Girdles about their Loins. At this I wept, and the Emperor commanded the Interpreter to ask me why I wept? I answered, *There is our Prophet, and our Lord, who is also my Cousin.* He said I was right, and added that he and his People had subdued the finest of all Kingdoms; but that he had not the Satisfaction of enjoying his Conquests, tho' his Successors had.

Moham-
med.

Indian
Prophets.

I afterwards saw a great Number of other Prophets, some of them stretching forth their right Hand, and with their three Fingers bent down between the Thumb and the Fore-finger, just like those who lift up the Hand to make oath. Others were standing and pointed to the Heavens with their Finger, and others were in different Postures. The Interpreter took them to be the Figures of their Prophets and those of the *Indians*.

Questions
concerning
the Kalifs.

The Emperor then asked me many Questions concerning the *Kalifs*, their Mode of Dress, and concerning many Precepts and Injunctions of the *Mohammedan* Religion, and I answered him the best I could.

The Age of
the World.

After this he said, *What is your Opinion concerning the Age of the World?* I made answer, that Opinions varied upon that head; that some were for six Thousand Years; that others would not allow so many; and that others reckoned it at a still higher Rate; but that it was, at least, as old as I had said. At this, the Emperor and his first Minister, who was near him, broke out into a Laughter, and the Emperor made many Objections to what I had advanced. At last said he, *What does your Prophet teach upon this Subject? Does he say as you do?* My Memory failed me, and I assured him that he did. Hereupon I observed I had displeased him, and his Displeasure appeared upon his Countenance.

Then

Then he ordered the Interpreter to speak to me in the following strain: *Take heed of what you say; for Kings never speak but to be informed of the Truth of what they would know. What did you mean by giving the Emperor to understand that there are, among you, various Opinions concerning the Age of the World? If so it be, you are also divided upon the Things your Prophet has said, at the same time that no Diversity of Opinion is to be admitted on what the Prophets have pronounced, all which must be revered as sure and infallible. Take heed, then, how you talk after such a Rate any more.* To this he subjoined many other Things which, through Length of Time, have escaped my Remembrance.

At last he asked me, *How is it that thou hast forsaken thy King, to whom thou art nearer, not only by the Place of thy abode, but by Blood also, than thou art to us?* In return to which, I informed him of the Revolutions which had hapned at Bassora, and how I came to Siraf where I saw a Ship ready to spread Sail for China; and that having heard of the Glory of his Empire, and its great abundance of Necessaries; Curiosity excited me to a Desire of coming into his Country, that I might behold it with mine own Eyes. That I should soon depart for my Country, and the Kingdom of my Cousin, and that I would make a faithful report of what I had seen of the Magnificence of the Empire of China, and of the vast extent of the Provinces

*Sequel of
the Conver-
sation with
the Empe-
ror.*

vinces it contains; and that I would make a grateful Declaration of the kind Usage, and the Benefactions I there met with; which seemed to please him very much. He then made me rich Presents, and ordered that I should be conducted to *Cansu* upon Post Horses. He wrote also to the Governor of the City, commanding him to treat me with much Honour, and to furnish me with the like Recommendations to the other Governors of the Provinces, that they might entertain me till the Time of my Departure. Thus was I treated every where, being plentifully supplied with all the Necessaries of Life, and honoured with many Presents till the Time of my Departure from *China*.

Cumdan.

We asked *Ebn Wahab* many Questions concerning the City of *Cumdan*, where the Emperor keeps his Court. He told us that the City was very large, and extremely populous; that it was divided into two great Parts, by a very long and very broad Street; that the Emperor, his chief Ministers, the Soldiery, the supreme Judge, the Eunuchs, and all belonging to the imperial Household, lived in that Part of the City which is on the right hand Eastward; that the People had no manner of Communication with them; and that they were not admitted into Places watered by Canals, from different Rivers, whose Borders were planted with Trees, and adorned with magnificent Dwellings. The Part on the left hand Westward, is inhabited

habited by the People and the Merchants, where are also great Squares, and Markets for all the Necessaries of Life. At break of Day you see the Officers of the King's Household, with the inferior Servants, the Purveyors, and the Domesticks of the Grandees of the Court, who come, some on foot others on Horseback, into that Division of the City, where are the public Markets, and the Habitations of the Merchants; where they buy whatever they want, and return not again to the same Place till the next Morning.

This same Traveller related that this City has a very pleasant Situation, in the midst of a most fertile Soil, watered by several Rivers. Scarce any Thing is wanted, except Palm-Trees, which grow not there.

In our Times, Discovery has been made of a Thing quite new, and unknown to those who lived before us. No Body imagined that the Sea which extends from the *Indies* to *China*, had any Communication with the Sea of *Syria*, nor could any one take it into his Head. Now behold what has come to pass in our Days, according to what we have heard. In the Sea of *Rum*, or the Mediterranean, they found the Wreck of an *Arabian* Ship which had been shattered by Tempest; for all her Men perishing, and she being dashed to Pieces by the Wave, the Remains of her were driven by Wind and Weather into the Sea of *Chozars*, and from thence to the Canal of the Mediterranean Sea, and at last were thrown

Communi-
cation be-
tween the
Ocean and
the Medi-
terranean.

thrown on the Shore of *Syria*. This evinces that the Sea furrounds all the Country of *China*, and of *Cila*, [or *Sila*,] the uttermost Parts of *Turkestan*, and the Country of the *Chozars*, and that then it enters at the Strait till it washes the Shore of *Syria*. The Proof of this is deduced from the Built of the Ship we are speaking of; for none but the Ships of *Siraf* are so put together, that the Planks are not nailed [or bolted], but joined together in an extraordinary Manner as if they were sewn; whereas the Planking of all the Ships of the Mediterranean Sea, and of the Coast of *Syria*, is nailed and not joined together the other way.

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We have also heard say, that Ambergreese has been found in the Sea of *Syria*, which seems hard to believe, and was unknown to former Times. If this be as is said, it is impossible that Amber should have been thrown up in the Sea of *Syria*, but by the Sea of *Aden* and of *Kolzum*, which has Communication with the Seas where Amber is found. And, because God hath put a Separation between these Seas, if this Story be true, it must necessarily have been that this Amber was driven first from the *Indian* Sea into the others, and that, from the one to the other, it at last came into the Sea of *Syria*.

Of the Province of Zapage.

Province of
Zapage.

We will now begin to speak of the Province of *Zapage*, which is opposite to *China*, and a Month's Sail distant therefrom by

by Sea, or less, if the Wind be fair. The King of this Country is called *Mebrage*, and they say it is nine hundred Leagues in Circumference, and that this King is Master of many Islands which ly round about; thus this Kingdom is above a thousand Leagues in Extent. Among these Islands there is one called *Serbeza*, which is said to be four hundred Leagues in Circuit, and that also of *Rakmi* which is eight hundred Leagues in Compass, and produces Red-wood, Camphire, and many other Commodities. In this same Kingdom is the Island of *Cala*, which is in the Mid-passage between *China* and the Country of the *Arabs*. This Island, they say, is fourscore Leagues in Circumference; and hither they bring all Sorts of Merchandise, Wood Aloes of several Sorts, Camphire, Sandal-wood, Ivory, the Lead called *Cabaki*, Ebony, Red-wood, every Kind of Spice, and many other Things too tedious to enumerate. At present the Commerce is most usually carried on from *Oman* to this Island, and from this Island to *Oman*. The *Mebrage* is sovereign over all these Islands, and that which he makes his Abode, is extremely fertile, and so very populous that the Towns almost croud one upon the other. A Person of great Probity relates, that when the Cocks here crow at their accustomed Hours, just as with us, at roost upon Trees, they answer each other a hundred Leagues around and more, because of the Proximity of the Villages

Villages which almost touch each other; and he adds that no Part of it is uninhabited, nor any of its Land uncultivated. Those who travel in this Country may stop at every Step, and find Shelter from the Beams of the Noon-day Sun, and if they are tired they may repose themselves every Day at Noon, go which way they will.

Particulars of the Country of Zapage.

Now what follows, which we have from the Testimony of several Persons, is the most remarkable Particular we have heard concerning the Island of *Zapage*. There was formerly a King, who was called *Mebrage*. His Palace is still to be seen on a River as broad as the *Tygris* at *Bagdad* or at *Bassora*. The Sea intercepts the Course of its Waters, and sends them back again with the Tide of Flood; and during the Tide of Ebb, it streams out fresh Water a good way into the Sea. This River is let into a small Pond close to the King's Palace, and every Morning the Officer who has Charge of his Household, brings an Ingot of Gold wrought in a particular Manner, which is unknown, and throws it into the Pond in the Presence of the King. The Tide rising with the Flood covers it with many others, its fellows, and quite conceals it from Sight; but low Water discovers them, and they appear plain by the Beams of the Sun. The King comes to view them at the same Time that he repairs to an Apartment of State which

which looks upon this Pond. This Custom is very scrupulously observed, and thus they every Day throw an Ingot of Gold into this Pond, as long as the King lives, nor touch the same upon any Account. When the King dyes, his Successor causes them all to be taken out, and not one of them is ever missed: They count them, and melt them down, and this done, the Sums proving from this great Quantity of Gold, are distributed to those of the Royal Household, to the Men, to the Women, and to the Children, to the superior and to the inferior Officers, each receiving a Part, in Proportion to the Rank he bears, and according to the Order established, among them, for this Distribution; and the Surplus is given away to the Poor, and to the infirm. Then they reckon up the Number of Ingots, and what they weigh, and say; Such a one reigned so many Years, for he left so many Ingots of Gold in the Pond of the Kings, and they were distributed, after his Death, to the People of his Kingdom. It is a Glory, with them, to have reigned a long while, and to have thus multiplied the Number of these Ingots, to be given away at their Death.

Their ancient History relates, that one of the Kings of *Komar* would have waged War with him of this Island. This Country of *Komar* is the same from whence they bring the Wood Aloes called *Hud al Komari*; nor is there a Kingdom proportionably

*A Story of
the King of
Komar
and the
Mehrage*

ably more populous than that of *Komar*. The Inhabitants are all very courageous, and Debauchery with Women, and the Use of Wine are forbidden among them, nor have they any Wine in their Country. This Kingdom was at Peace with that of *Zapage*, where reigned the *Mebrage*. They are divided from each other by a Passage of ten, or twenty Days sail, with a very easy Gale. They say that in former Days there was a young and turbulent King in this Island of *Komar*. This King was one Day in his Palace, which looks upon a River much like the *Euphrates* at the Entrance, and but a Day Distant from the Sea. His prime Minister was with him, and, in the Discourse they had together, mention was made of the Kingdom of the *Mebrage* and its Glory, how well it was peopled and cultivated, and the Croud of Islands which owed Obedience thereunto. Then said the King of *Komar* to his Minister, *I am taken with a Desire, which I must earnestly could wish to see accomplished.* The Minister, who was a wise and a prudent Man, and no Stranger to the Levity of his Master, addressed him; *My Lord, what is your Desire? I could wish,* replied the King, *to see before me, in a Dish, the Head of the Mehrage King of Zapage.* The Minister, well aware it was Jealousy that inspired him with this Irregularity, made Answer, *My Lord, I could wish you would not disturb your Mind with such Thoughts, since nothing ever hapned between those People and us, to furnish us with Matter of Complaint; seeing they never*
offended

offended us either by Word or deed, and never did us the least Injury. Moreover, they are in an Island divided from us, and have no Manner of Communication with our Country; nor do they betray any Thoughts of making a Conquest of this Kingdom. No one therefore ought to hearken to such Discourse, or make one Word of Answer upon this Head. The King was enraged at this Return, and replied not thereto; but without any Regard had to the sage Advice of his first Minister, he opened the same Thing to the principal Officers of State, and to all those of his Court that were present.

This Matter being rumored about by several Persons, became of public Notoriety; and at length reached the Ears of the *Meh-
rage*. He, who then reigned, was a wise and an active Prince, of consummate Experience, and as yet in the Flower of his Days. He called for his first Minister, and having acquainted him with what he had heard, said to him; *It is by no means proper to declare the Behavior of this giddy Prince, or to betray how little we esteem him, because of his Youth and little Experience. Nor is it proper to divulge what he has said against me; for such Speeches, cannot but be prejudicial to the Dignity of a King, make him contemptible, and take away from his Reputation.* Having thus in-joined his Minister to conceal what had passed between them, he, at the same Time, commanded him to prepare a thousand Ships of middling Burthen, and to equip them with all Things necessary, Arms and Am-
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on,

*The Enter-
prise of the
Mehrage
against the
King of
Komar.*

munition, and to man them with as many of his best Forces as they could carry; then he gave out That he would take a Voyage among the neighbouring Islands, under his Dominion, to divert himself. He wrote to all the tributary Princes of these same Islands to acquaint them That he designed them a Visit, to recreate himself in their Islands: And this being the public Talk, each of these Kings prepared for the Reception of the *Mebrage*. Mean while, when every Thing was in readiness as he had ordered, he went on board his Ships, and with a powerful Army sailed over to the Kingdom of *Komar*. The King and those belonging to his Court were effeminate Creatures, who, all the Day long, did nothing but consult their Faces and rub their Teeth, eternally with Mirrors and Tooth-picks in their Hands, or carried after them by Slaves. So the King of *Komar* discovered nothing of the *Mebrage's* purpose, till he appeared in the Mouth of the River, which was crowned by the Palace of the King of *Komar*, and till he had landed his Troops, who immediately invested him with great vigor, and took him. The King was taken in his Palace, and all that belonged to him fled without fighting.

Then the *Mebrage* instantly caused Proclamation to be made, That he granted entire Security of Life and Effects to all the Inhabitants of the Country; and seating himself on the Throne of the King of *Komar*, now a Captive, he ordered him to be brought

brought into his Presence, together with his first Minister. Then said he to the King of Komar: *Who was it filled your Head with a Project unequal to your Strength, and absolutely impossible for you to compass? What would you have done if you had gained your End?* This Prince, who had nothing to say for himself, made no Answer. Then continued the Mebrage, *If you had enjoyed the Pleasure you wished, of seeing my Head in a Dish before you, you would have spoiled my Kingdom, and made your self Master thereof, after you had committed all Sorts of Violence: I will not so behave with regard to you; but yet I will execute upon you, what you wished concerning me, and then will I return into my Kingdom, without touching any Thing in your Dominions, and without carrying away ought soever of great Value or small, desirous only that you may be recorded an Example for the Instruction of those who shall come after you; that no one may exceed the Bounds of his Power, that each may be contented with his own, and that those you have disturbed may be restored to perfect Security.* This said, he ordered them to smite off his Head; and then turning to the Minister, he said; *You have done all a good Minister could do, I know you offered good Advice to your Master, and that he hearkened not unto you. Consult who may best succeed this Fool, for the good of the Kingdom, and set him upon the Throne:* Then strait the Mebrage departed for his own Territories, and neither did he, or any of his, lay Hands on the least Thing in the Kingdom of Komar.

ANCIENT ACCOUNTS

When he arrived in his own Kingdom, he sat down upon his Throne, and, being in the Place which looked upon the Pond before-mentioned, he caused the Head of the King of *Komar* to be put into a Bason, and set before him; and calling in the Chiefs of his Kingdom, he acquainted them with all he had done, and with the Reasons which had induced him to the Expedition we have related; And they approved the Deed with Acclamations and Prayers for his Prosperity. Then he ordered the Head of the King of *Komar*, to be washed, and embalmed, and put into a Coffer; and sent it back to the King *Komar* who had been appointed in the Room of him he had put to Death, at the same time writing a Letter to this new Prince, couched in the following Terms; *What inclined us to do what we did to your Predecessor, and your Lord, was his known Malevolence towards us, and that we might set an Example to his Equals. We have been so happy as to treat him as he would have treated us: But we think it convenient to send his Head back to you, having had no Design of detaining it, or of arrogating any Glory to ourselves from the Advantage we obtained over him.* The News of this Action being conveyed to the Kings of the *Indies* and of *China*, it added to the Respect they before had for the *Mekrage*: And from that Time it has been a Custom with the Kings of *Komar*, every Morning they rise, to turn towards the Country of *Zapage*, and to prostrate themselves on the Ground, and to make

make the most profound Inclinations, in Honour, of the *Mekrage*.

All the Kings of the *Indies* and of *China* [Y] believe the Metempsychosis or Transmigration of Souls, and make it an Article of their Religion. A Person of Credit relates, That one of these Princes being newly recovered of the Small-Pox, and beholding himself in a Glass, was deeply troubled to see how sadly his Face was disfigured; and that turning himself towards one of the Sons of his Brother, he said to him, Sure it never happened to any Man as to me, to remain in his Body after such a Change; but this Body is only a Vessel puffed out with Wind, and when the Soul leaves it, she migrates into another; go get upon the Throne, for I am about to separate my Body from my Soul, until I return in another Body. At the same Time he called for a sharp and keen *Cangiar*, with which he commanded his Nephew to cut off his Head, which the other did, and he was afterwards burnt.

The Indians hold the Metempsychosis.

The Author begins again to speak of China and several Affairs relating to that Country.

The *Chinese* were wonderfully regular in their Government, before the last Revolutions entirely destroyed and reduced it to the State it is in at present. There was a certain Merchant, a Native of *Chorassan*, who coming into *Irak*, did there deal to a considerable Amount, and having bought up a Quantity of Goods went to

The Story of an Arabian Merchant.

China. This Man was extremely Selfish and of invincible Avarice. It hapned that the Emperor of *China* had sent one of his Eunuchs to *Canfu*, the City for all the *Arabian* Traders, there to purchase what he wanted, and was to be had on board of the Ships that were arrived. This Eunuch was one of those who shared the most considerably in his Master's good Opinion and Confidence, and was Keeper of his Treasure and of all his most precious Things. A Dispute arose between this Eunuch and this Merchant, about some Pieces of Ivory and other Goods, and it ran so high, that the Merchant refused to deal with him: But this Affair making a great Noise, the Eunuch pushed it so far, that he forced from him the Choice of his Goods, regardless of whatever the other could say to him.

*The little
Bell.*

The Merchant withdrawing himself, went privately to *Cumdan*, where the Emperor resides, and which is two Months distant from *Canfu*; and being arrived he went to the String of the Bell mentioned in the first Book. The Custom was, That whoever pulled it should be sent a ten Days Distance from thence, as a Kind of Banishment; it was ordained also, that he should be committed to Prison, there to remain for two whole Months, which expired, the King or Governor of the Province released him, and said, *You have involved your self in an Affair which may turn to your utter Ruin, and to the Loss of your Life, if you speak not the real Truth; forasmuch as the Emperor hath appointed*

appointed Ministers and Governors to distribute Justice to you and to your Fellows, nor is there any one of them that would not right you. If, when you appear before the Emperor, your Wrongs are not such as may intitle you to have recourse to him, it will, most certainly, cost you your Life; to the end that every Man who would presume to do as you have done, may be deterred from the same. Withdraw therefore immediately, and be gone about your Business. Now if the Party endeavoured to fly he was chastised with fifty Strokes of the *Bamboo*, and was then sent back to the Country whence he came; but if he persisted in his Demand of Redress, he was admitted to an Audience of the Emperor.

The *Chorassanian* strenuously persisted in his Demand of Justice, and of leave to be admitted to the Emperor, which was at length granted him. The Interpreter asking him his Business, he related what had befallen him with the Emperor's Officer, and how he had forced from him a Part of his Effects. This Thing was soon divulged, and noised about at *Canfu*. In the mean time the Emperor commanded the Merchant to be cast into Prison, and that Care should be there taken he wanted for neither Victuals nor Drink. At the same time he ordered his prime Minister to write to the Governor of *Canfu*, charging him to inform himself concerning the Complaints of this Merchant, and to examine into the Grounds thereof. At the same Time also three principal Officers received the same Order. These Officers are called *of the*

Right, of the Left, and of the Midst, and, according to their Rank, have the Command of the Emperor's Forces, under the prime Minister; he trusts them with the Guard of his Person, and when he takes the Field for some military Enterprize, or on any other Account, each of them, according to his Rank, marches near him. These three Officers wrote, each apart, what they had, upon the strictest Enquiry, discovered of the Matter; and assured the Emperor that the Merchant's Complaint was just and true. These first Informations were followed and confirmed by many more, sent to the Emperor from divers Parts, and the Eunuch was cited to appear. No sooner did he arrive than the Emperor seized on all his Effects, and deprived him of his Office as Treasurer, and then said to him; Death ought to be thy Doom for giving this Man, who is come from Chorassan, on the Frontiers of my Kingdom, cause of Complaint against me. He hath been in the Country of the Arabs, whence he came into the Kingdoms of the Indies, and at last to my City, seeking his Advantage by Trade; and thou wouldst have had him return, cross those Kingdoms, and have said to all the People in his way, I have been abused in China, where they have stript me of my Substance. I grant thee thy Life, in Consideration of thy former Services in the Rank thou holdest in my House; but I will conferr on thee a Command among the Dead, forasmuch as thou hast not been able to acquit thy self of thy Duty in that thou heldest over the Living.
And

strait he ordered him to be sent to the Tombs of the Kings, to guard them, and there to remain for Life.

One of the Things most worthy to be admired in *China*, before the late Commotions, was the good Order they observed in the Administration of Justice, and the Majesty of their Tribunals. To fill them they made Choice of such Men as were perfectly versed in their Laws, and such, consequently, as were never at a Stand when they were to pass a Judgment; Men of Sincerity, zealous in the Cause of Justice upon every Occasion, nor to be byassed by what the Great could offer to embroil a Dispute; so that Justice was always administered to him who had Right on his side. In a Word, they made Choice of upright Men, of Men who equally abstained from the slender Substance of the Poor, and from the Presents of those who would have bribed them therewith.

*The Order
observed in
the Chi-
nese Tri-
bunals,*

When they designed to promote any Man to the Office of principal Judge, they previously sent him to all the chief Cities of the Empire, in each of which he staid a Month or two. In the mean time it was his business, most minutely, to inquire into the Affairs of the People, into all that passed in the City, and into the various Customs. He informed himself of all such as deserved to be believed upon their Word of Testimony, and this Knowledge was of use to him in the Sequel, as Occasion required. After he had gone through all

*The Pro-
motion of a
supreme
Judge,*

all the Cities, in the Manner abovesaid, and made a Stay of some Time in the most considerable of them, he repaired to the imperial Court, where he was invested with the Dignity of supreme Judge. To him then the Emperor referred the Nomination of all the other Judges, and by him were they appointed, after he had acquainted the Emperor with those, who, in his whole Dominions, were most worthy of exercising Jurisdiction, each in his own City, or in others; for he knew those who were commendable for their Understanding, and so no one was raised, who possessed not the same Endowments, or who bore not Testimony according to Truth, when he was interrogated.

The Emperor allows none of his Judges to write to him upon any Affair, when he is informed of the contrary, and even deprives them of their Office. The supreme Judge causes Proclamation, every Day, to be made before his Gate, and in his Name they cry out, If any Man hath been wronged by the King or Governor, who is not to be seen of the People, or by any one of his Relations or Officers, or by any one of the Body of the People; I will do him ample Justice, as soon as the Offender is put into my Hands, and that I have Charge of him! This Proclamation is thrice repeated. It is an ancient Custom with them, never to degrade a King or Governor of a City, but by virtue of Letters issued out by the Council or Divan of Kings; and this is commonly executed for some flagrant Malversation, or
when

when Judgment is suspended or delayed. But when the Governor avoids these two Things, it is seldom he is disturbed with Letters of Revocation, which are never drawn up but on a lawful Account. The Posts of Judicature are conferred on none but Persons of Probity and Lovers of Justice; and so is good order maintained in the Kingdom.

Of Chorassan,

This Province is almost conterminous with *China*. From *China* to the *Sogd* it is about a two Months Journey, through impracticable Desarts, and through a Country all over covered with Sand, where no Water is to be found. It is not watered by any Rivers, nor is there any Habitation in the Purlieus of this Province; and for this Reason it is that the *Chorassanians* can make no Irruptions into *China*. That Part of this Empire which lies farthest westward, is the Province of *Madu*, which borders upon *Tibet*, so that on this side the two Nations are at perpetual War with each other. Among those of our time who have travelled into *China*, we were acquainted with one who told us he had seen a Man that had a Vessel with Musk in it, on his Back, and had travelled on Foot from *Samarcand* to *Canfu*, the Port for all Merchants from *Siraf*. He had, by Land, traversed all the Cities of *China*, one after another, which he might easily do, because the Provinces of *China* and *Tibet*, where the

Madu

Musk of Tibet.

the Musk-creature is met with, are contiguous and not divided by any Separation. The *Chinese* carry off as many of these Creatures as they can lay Hands on, and those of *Tibet*, on their Part, do the same. But the Musk of *Tibet* is far preferable to that of *China* for two Reasons: *First* in *Tibet* this Creature feeds on aromatic Pastures, while in *China* he has nothing to subsist him but what is common. *Secondly* the *Tibetians* preserve their Bladders or Cods of Musk in the pure natural State, while the *Chinese* adulterate all that come into their Hands. They dip them also into the Sea, or else expose them to the Dew, and having kept them some time, they take off the outward Membrane, and then close them up; and this Musk passes in the Country of the *Arabs* for Musk of *Tibet*, because of its Excellence.

The most exquisite of all the Sorts of Musk, is what the Roe-Bucks, that yield it, leave behind them when they rub themselves against the Rocks in the Mountains; for the Humor, whence it is generated, falling down towards the Navel of the Creature, it there gathers into a Quantity of turbid Blood, just after the Manner of Biles, and such like Tumors. When this Swelling is ripe, the Creature, who is sensible of a painful Itching, seeks out for Stones and rubs himself against the same, till he opens his Sore, and the Contents run out. Now as soon as this Matter falls from the Creature, it coagulates, the Wound closes, and

and the same Kind of Humor gathers to a Head again as before.

In *Tibet*, there are Men who go in quest of this Musk, and are very ready at knowing it; and having found it, they carefully collect it, and put it up in Bladders; and it is carried to their Kings. This Musk is most exquisite when it has, as we may say, ripened in the Bladder of the Creature which bears it: It surpasses all others in goodness, just as Fruit is better when it is gathered ripe from the Tree, than when it is pulled green.

There is still another way of getting Musk. They insnare the Creature in Toils, and shoot him with Arrows: But it often happens that the Hunters cut the Tumors of the Creature before the Musk is elaborated; and in this Case it has, at first, an ill Scent that prevails till the Matter is thickened, which sometimes does not happen in a great while, but as soon as it coagulates it turns to Musk.

The Musk-Creature is like our Roe-Buck, his Skin and Colour the same, with slender Legs, a split Horn, strait, but somewhat bending withal. On each side, he has two small white Teeth, which are strait, and rise above his Muzzle, each half a Finger, or somewhat less, in length, and in turn not unlike the Teeth of the Elephant; and this is the distinguishing Mark between these Creatures and other Roe-Bucks.

The Emperors of *China* write to the Kings or Governors of Cities, to the Eunuchs

*Another
Sort of
Musk.*

*The Musk-
Creature.*

*The Em-
peror of
China's
Letters con-
veyed by
Post Horses*

Several
Chinese
Customs.

nuchs or Lieutenants, and their Letters are conveyed by Post-Horses with a cut Tail, disposed almost like the Posts among the *Arabs*, in the Order every Body knows.

Besides what we have here related concerning the *Chinese* Customs, it is usual for the Princes, and even the People, to make Water standing. Persons of Dignity, as the Kings and the principal Officers, have gilded Canes, a Cubit long, which are bored through; and these they use when they make Water, standing upright all the time, and the Tube carries the Water a good Distance from them. They are of Opinion that Pains in the Kidneys, the Strangury and Stone, are caused by making Water in a sitting Posture; and that the Reins cannot free themselves of those Humors but by standing to evacuate, and that thus this Posture contributes to the Preservation of Health.

They suffer their Hair to grow, for the Men will not round the Head of a Child, when he comes into the World, as do the *Arabs*: For they say it causes a considerable Alteration in the Brain, and that common Sense is notably impaired thereby. They suffer the Head then to be all covered with Hair, which they carefully comb.

Their Mar-
riages.

As for their Marriages, they observe the Degrees of Consanguinity after this Manner. They are divided, among themselves, into Families and Tribes, like the *Arabs*, and some other Nations; and they know each other by the Difference of their Descents. No one marries in his own Tribe, just as the

the Children of *Thummim* among the *Arabs*, take not to Wife a Daughter of the Race of *Thummim*, and a Man of one Family espouses not a Woman of the same; but, for Example, a Man of the Family of *Robayat* marries into that of *Modzar*, and, inversely, a *Modzar* conjoins with a *Robayat*. They are of Opinion that such Allyances add to the Nobility of the Children.

Some Particulars concerning the Indies.

In the Kingdom of the *Balbara*, and in all the other Kingdoms of the *Indies*, there are Persons who burn themselves. This Custom proceeds from their Notion of a *Metempsychosis* or Transmigration, which they firmly believe as a Truth never to be called in Question among them. [AA]
Indians that burn themselves.

There are Kings who upon their Accession observe the following Ceremony. They dress a great Quantity of Rice, and pour it out upon Leaves of the *Moussa*, in Sight of the King. Then three or four Hundred Persons come of their own accord, without the least Constraint on the part of the King, and present themselves before him. After he has eaten some of this Rice, he gives a little of it to each of them, as fast as they come up to him, one after another, and they eat it in his Presence. By eating of this Rice they all engage to burn themselves on the Day the King dyes, or is slain, and they punctually fulfil their Promise, throwing themselves into the Fire [Z]

Fire till the very last, so that not one Soul of them is left behind.

[AA]

*Their
Manner of
burning
themselves.*

When a Man is determined to burn himself, he first goes to the King's Palace to ask leave so to do; and having obtained it, he goes round the public Squares of the City, and makes his way to the Place where the Pile is heaped up with Store of dry Wood; while round about it stand many Persons who feed the Fire, so that it is very violent and blazes prodigiously. At last the Person comes preceded by a Number of Musical Instruments, and surrounds the Place in the midst of his Friends and Relations. During which, some put upon his Head a Garland of Straw or dry Herbs, which they fill with burning Coals, whereon they pour Sandarac, which catches Fire as strongly as Naphtha. Nevertheless he continues the Procession, although the Crown of his Head be all on Fire, and the Stench of his burnt Flesh be smelt, not so much as changing Countenance, in the least Degree, or betraying the least Sense of Pain. At last he comes to the Pile, throws himself into it, and is soon reduced to Ashes.

A certain Person says he saw one of these *Indians* burn himself; and avers that when he came near to the Pile, he drew out a *Cangiar*, and with it ript down from his Breast to the Rim of his Belly; and that this done, he with his left Hand pulled out a Flap of his Liver, and with the *Cangiar* cut off a Piece of it, which he gave to one of his Brothers, talking all the Time, and

and displaying an invincible Contempt of Death, and a wonderful Patience under his Torments, till at last he leaped into the Fire, to go to Hell.

The Person who told this, added that, in the Mountains of this same Country, there are *Indians* who, in Opinions and Manners, differ but little from those we call *Kanians* and *Jelidians*, and who are addicted to all Manner of Superstition and Vice. There is a great Emulation between these Mountaineers and the People on the Coast; the latter continually going up to the Mountains to dare the Inhabitants there to do as they do; and the Mountaineers, on their part, as frequently coming down to the Coast with Defiances of the same Nature.

*Indians
who have
particular
Opinions.*

Among others, There once came down a Man on this Errand, and having gathered a Number of the Inhabitants of the Coast about him, who came as well out of Curiosity to see the Sight as with Intent to imitate him; He told them to do what he was about to perform, or, if they despaired of doing it, acknowledge themselves overcome. He sat himself down then in a Place planted with Canes, and directed them to bend one of them down to the Ground. These Canes are like our Sugar-Canes, bend like them, and have a very large Stem: When they are laid hold on at Top, they obey and stoop to the Ground; but as soon as they are let go, they violently fly up to their first Rectitude. One of the largest of these he caused to be bowed down to

*A very remarkable
Story.*

G

his

his Height, and fastened his Hair strongly thereto; when taking in hand his *Cangiar* which sparkled like Fire, so keen it was, he said to those about him, *I am going to cut off my Head with this Cangiar, — as soon as it is severed from my Body, let go the Cane, and when it flies up with my Head I will laugh, and so you shall hear me do.* The People of the Coast had not Courage enough to imitate him. The Person who related these Things to us, did it without Emotion or Wonder, and in our Times these Facts are very generally known; for this part of the *Indies* is in the Neighbourhood of the Country of the *Arabs*, and we hear from thence every Day.

Aged Indians request to be thrown into the Fire.

Farthermore, it is a customary Thing for Men and Women, of the *Indian* Blood, to desire those of their Family to throw them into the Fire, or drown them, when they are grown old, or perceive themselves to sink under the Weight of their Years; firmly believing they are to return in other Bodies. They burn their Dead.

The bold Actions of Indian Robbers.

It has oftentimes hapned in the Isle of *Sarandib*, where there is a Mine of precious Stones in a Mountain, the Pearl-Fishery, and other rare and extraordinary Things, That an *Indian* would come into the *Buzar* or Market-place, with his *Kri*, as they call a Kind of *Cangiar* they wear, made after a particular Manner, and seize on the most wealthy Merchant there present, and holding his *Kri* to his Throat, lead him, by the Vest, out of the City, in the midst of a Throng
of

of People, while not a Soul of them dared to attempt his Rescue: For if any Attempt of the Kind was made, the *Indian* was sure to kill the Merchant, and make away with himself. When he had got him out of the City, he obliged him to redeem himself with a great Sum of Money. This Outrage continued till the Kings ordained, That every *Indian*, who presumed upon the like, should be seized; but offering to execute this Order, the *Indian* killed the Merchant first, and then himself. The same Misfortune befel many other Merchants, and after this Manner did a Number, both of *Arabs* and *Indians*, perish; wherefore the Merchants sought after other Means to secure themselves, and the *Indians* were no longer apprehended.

In the Mountain of *Sarandib* they find precious Stones of various Colours, Red, Green, and Yellow, most of which are, at certain times, forced out of Caverns and other Recesses by Waters and Torrents. In these Places the King has his Officers to keep an Eye over those who pick them up. Many times also they are dug out of Mines, just like Metals, and they sometimes find precious Stones in the Ore, which must be broken to get at them.

Mines of precious Stones in the Isle of Sarandib,

The King of this Island has Laws which are the Groundwork of the Religion and Government of the Country. Here are Doctors, and Assemblies of learned Men like those of the *Hadithis* among the *Arabs*. The *Indians* repair to these Assemblies and

Laws of Sarandib.

[BB]
These are the Repositories of

the Mo-
ammedan
Tradition.

write down what they hear of the Lives of their Prophets, and the various Expositions of their Laws. Here is a very great Idol of the finest Gold; but concerning the Weight thereof Navigators are not agreed. Here also are Temples where great Sums of Money are expended.

Jews and
other Sects.

In this same Island there is a very great Multitude of *Jews*, as well as of many other Sects, even *Tanwis* or *Manichees*, the King permitting the free Exercise of every Religion. At the End of this Island are Valleys of great Length and Breadth, which extend quite to the Sea. Here Travellers stay two Months, and more in that called *Gab Sarandib*, allured by the Beauty of the Country, bedecked with Trees and Verdure, Water and Meads, and blessed with a wholesom Air. This Valley opens upon the Sea called *Harkand*, and is transcendantly pleasant. You there buy a Sheep for half a Dram, and for the same you purchase as much of their Drink as may suffice many Persons. This Drink is made of Palm-Honey boiled, and prepared with the *Tari* [*Taddi*] or Juice which runs from the Tree.

The Pa-
stimes of
the Inha-
bitants.

Gaming is the most usual Occupation of the Inhabitants here. They play at Draughts, and their other principal Pastime is fighting of Cocks, which are very large in this Country, and better provided with Spurs than Cocks commonly are; and besides this the *Indians* arm them with Blades of Iron in the Fashion of *Cangiar*s. Upon these Combats they bet Gold, Silver, Lands, Farms,

Of *INDIA* and *CHINA*

Farms, and many other Things which are won by the Master of the Cock that beats. They play also at Draughts, and venture great Sums upon the Chance of this Game, but with such Fury, That those who have not wherewithal, Debauchees and desperate People, often play away the Ends of their Fingers. While they are at play, they have a Fire by them, and thereon a Pot of Walnut, or *Sesame* Oil; they have no Oil of Olives; and they place a little, but very sharp, Hatchet between them. When one of them has won a Game, the other lays his Hand upon a Stone, and the Winner cuts off the End of the Loser's Finger with the Hatchet; and the Patient dips his injured Part into the boiling Oil, to cauterise the Wound. And yet they cannot shake off this evil Habit of Gaming; on the contrary, they sometimes persist in it so obstinately and so long, that, before they part, they have all their Fingers thus mutilated. Some of them will take a Wick, and soaking it in Oil, apply it to some Member, set Fire to it, and let it burn so that the Scent of the burnt Flesh is smelt by those who play with them, while the Parties themselves betray not the least Sense of Pain.

Debauchery runs high in this Country, as well among the Women as among the Men; for they are laid under no Restraint. It runs so high, that sometimes a foreign Merchant, just arrived from Sea, shall send for the Daughter of a King of the Country, and she shall come to him to the Fishing grounds, with

*Excessive
Debauchery.*

ANCIENT ACCOUNTS

her Father's Consent and Privity. Wherefore the *Mohammedan* Doctors of *Siraf* strictly warn young People not to go that way.

*Rains in
the Indies.*

In the *Indies* there are heavy Rains, which the People of the Country call *Jafara*. They last three whole Months, during Summer, incessantly Night and Day, and scarce does the Winter stop them. The *Indians*, to the best of their Abilities, prepare themselves against these Rains, some Time before they fall; and no sooner do they come on than they shut themselves up in their Houses, made of Wood and Cane interwoven, and thatched with Leaves. They stir not out during all this Time, and no Soul is seen abroad, no not even the Artificers, who now do their Work at Home; and during this Season they are subject to several Sorts of Ulcers in the Sole of the Foot, caused by the Damps.

*These
Rains fe-
cundate
the Land.*

These Rains are the Life of the *Indians*; were they to fail, they would be reduced to the deepest Want. For their Fields, sown with Rice, are watered only by Rains, and are fecundated thereby; if great Store of Water ly upon the Rice Grounds they need no other help, or to be watered by Art. But when the Rains are plentifully showered down, the Rice thrives abundantly, and even becomes much better in Kind. It never Rains in the Winter.

[BB]
*Bramins,
Indian
Devotees.*

The *Indians* have Devotees and Doctors known by the Name of *Bramins*. They have Poets also who compose Verses, stuffed with Flattery, in Praise of their Kings:
Astrologers

Astrologers they have, Philosophers, Soothsayers, and Men who observe the Flight of Birds, and others who pretend to the Calculation of Nativities, particularly at *Kanuge*, a great City in the Kingdom of *Gozar*.

In the *Indies*, there are certain Men called *Bicar*, who go all their Life-time naked, and suffer their Hair to grow till it hides their hinder Parts, and the rest of their Body. They suffer also their Nails to grow, so that they become pointed and sharp as Swords, nor do they ever cut them, but leave them to break and fall off as it happens; and this they observe as a religious Duty. Each of them has a String about his Neck, whereto hangs an earthen Porringer; and when they are pressed by Hunger, they stop at the Door of some *Indian House*, and those within immediately and joyfully bring out Rice to them, believing there is great Merit in so doing; while they eat out of the Porringer and withdraw, never returning to make the same Request, if not by Necessity urged thereto.

Indian Penitents.

The *Indians* have many Laws and religious Precepts, by which they imagin they please God: Of such as these it is written in the *Koran*, *The Wicked have a mighty Pride*. One part of their Devotion consists in building of *Kans* or Inns, upon the Highways, for the Accommodation of Travellers; where also they set up Dealers, of whom the Passengers may purchase what they may happen to want. They there also settle public Women, such as are in the *Indies*, who expose themselves

Religious Precepts.

[CC]

themselves to Travellers; all which the *Indians* number among their meritorious Deeds.

[EE]
Public Wo-
men.

In the *Indies* they have public Women called *Women of the Idol*, the Origin of whose Institution is such: When a Woman has laid herself under a Vow, that she may have Children; if it happens that she brings forth a handson Daughter, she carries the Child to the *Bed*, so they call the Idol they worship, and there leave her. When this Girl has attained a proper Age, she takes an Apartment in this public Place, and spreads a Curtain before her Door, and waits the Arrival of Strangers, as well *Indians* as Men of other Sects, to whom this Debauchery is made lawful. She prostitutes herself at a certain rate, and delivers her Gains into the Hands of the Idol's Priest, to be by him disposed of, for the use and Support of the Temple. We praise the Almighty and Glorious God, who hath chosen us to be free from the Sins which defile the Men involved in Infidelity.

[FF]
The Idol of
Multan.

Not very far from *Almansur* there is a famous Idol called *Multan*, whither they resort in Pilgrimage from the remotest parts, even from distances of several Months. Some of the Pilgrims bring with them the odoriferous Wood *Hud al Camruni*, so called from the City of *Camrun*, where they have an excellent Wood Aloes, which they offer to this Idol; delivering it to the Priest of the Temple that he may burn it before his God. Some of this Wood is worth two hundred

hundred *Dinars* the *Man*, and is commonly marked with a Seal, to distinguish it from another kind of the same Wood, of less Value. It is usual for Merchants to buy it of these idolatrous Priests.

There are, among the *Indians*, certain Men who make Profession of Piety, and whose Devotion consists in seeking after unknown Islands, or such as are newly discovered, there to plant Coco-nut Trees, and to sink Wells of Water for the Use of Ships that sail to those Parts.

*Particular
Devotion.*

There are People, at *Oman*, who cross over to the Islands that produce the Coco-nut, carrying with them Carpenter's and all such like Tools; and having felled as much Wood as they want, they let it dry, then strip off the Leaves, and with the Bark of the Tree they spin a Yarn, wherewith they sew the Planks together, and so build a Ship. Of the same Wood they cut and round away a Mast; of the Leaves they weave their Sails, and the Bark they work into Cordage. Having thus completed their Vessel, they load her with Coco-nuts, which they bring and sell at *Oman*. Thus is it that, from this Tree alone, so many Articles are convertible to use, as suffice not only to build and rig out a Vessel, but to load her when she is completed, and in a Trim to sail.

*Whole
Ships built,
&c. with
the Coco-
nut Tree.*

The Country of the *Zinges* or *Negroes* is of vast Extent. They there commonly sow Millet, which is the chief Food of the *Negroes*. Sugar-canes also they have, and other

*The Coun-
try of the
Zinges or
Negroes.*

ANCIENT ACCOUNTS

other sorts of Trees; but their Sugar is very black. These People have a Number of Kings, who are eternally at war with each other. About their Kings they have certain Men called *Moharamin*, because each of them bores his Nose, and there wears a Ring. They have Chains also fastned about their Necks; and when they are at war, and going to fight, they each take one end of his Neighbour's Chain, and pass it thro' the Ring that hangs under his Nose; two Men hold this Chain, and so prevent the rest from advancing towards the Enemy till Deputies have been, from Side to Side, to negotiate a Peace, which if it is concluded, they take their Chains about their Necks again, and retire without fighting: But when they once begin to unsheath the Sword, no Soul of them quits his Post till he is slain.

*They have
great Re-
spect for the
Arabs.*

In their Hearts they have all a profound Veneration for the *Arabs*, and when they chance to see any one of them, they fall down before him, and cry, This Man comes from the Kingdom where flourishes the Date-bearing Palm, for they are very fond of Dates.

*Dervises,
Preachers.*

Among these People there are Preachers, who harangue them in their own Tongue, nor may the *Catechs* or Orators of any other Nation whatsoever be compared with them. Some of these profess a religious Life, and are covered with the Skin of a Leopard or Ape. One of these Men, with a Staff in his Hand, shall present himself before them,
and

and, having gathered a Multitude of People about him, preach all the Day long to them; he speaks of God, and recites the Actions of their Countrymen who are gone before them. From this Country they bring the Leopards Skins called *Zingiet*, spotted with red and black, very great and very broad.

[GG]

In this same Sea is the Island of *Socotra*, whence the *Socotrin* Aloes. This Isle lies near the Land of the *Zinges*, and near also to the Country of the *Arabs*, and most of its Inhabitants are Christians, which is thus accounted for: When *Alexander* subdued the Kingdom of the *Persians*, his Preceptor, *Aristotle*, to whom he had by Letters communicated his Conquests, wrote back to him to desire That by all means he would seek after the Island of *Socotra*, which afforded Aloes, an excellent Drug, and without which they could not make up the famous Medicament called *Hiera*. That the best way would be to remove the Inhabitants thence, and, instead of them, plant a Colony of *Greeks*, that they might send Aloes into *Syria*, *Greece*, and *Egypt*. Accordingly, *Alexander* gave the necessary Orders to dispossess the Inhabitants, and to settle a Colony of *Greeks* in their stead. Then he commanded the Kings of the Nations, who divided his Empire, after he had slain the great *Darius*, to execute the Orders he had issued out for the Preservation of these *Greeks*. They remained then as a Guard upon this Island, till God sent *Jesus Christ* into the World; when the *Greeks* of this same Isle, being

The Island
of Socotra.
V. Geogr.
Nubi.
p. 24.

This is the
Eastern
Notion.

being informed concerning his Advent, embraced the Christian Faith, as the other *Greeks* had done before them; and in the Profession of this Faith have they persevered to this Day, as well as all the Inhabitants of the other Isles.

*The Seas of
those Parts,*

*These are
Tribes of
Arabs.*

[HH]

In the first Book, no mention is made of the Sea which stretches away to the right, as Ships depart from *Oman* and the Coast of *Arabia*, to launch into the great Sea: But the Author describes only the Sea on the left hand, in which are comprehended the Seas of *India* and *China*, which he seems to have particularly had in his Eye. In this Sea, which is, as it were, on the right of the *Indies*, as you leave *Oman*, is the Country of *Sikar* [*Shikr*] where Frankincense grows, and other Countries possessed by the Nations of *Ad*, *Hamyar*, *Jorham*, and *Thabateba*. The People of this Country have the *Sonna* in *Arabic*, of very ancient Date, but, in many things, different from what is in the Hands of the *Arabs*, and containing many Traditions to us unknown. They have no Villages, and they lead a hard and a very miserable Life.

The Country they inhabit extends almost as far as *Aden* and *Judda* upon the Coast of *Yaman* or *Arabia the Happy*. From *Judda* it stretches up into the Continent as far as the Coast of *Syria*, and ends at *Kolzum*. The Sea is, in this part, divided by a Slip of Land, which God hath fixed as a Line of Separation between these two Seas, as it is written in the *Koran*. From *Kolzum*

zum the Sea stretches along the Coast of the Barbarians to the West Coast, which is opposite to *Yaman*, and then along the Coast of *Ethiopia*, from whence you have the Leopard Skins of *Barbary*, which are the best of all, and most skilfully dressed; and lastly, along the Coast of *Zeilab*, whence you have Amber and Tortoise-shell.

When the *Siraf* Ships arrive in this Sea, which is to the right of the Sea of *India*, they put into *Judda*, where they remain; for their Cargo is thence transported to *Ka-kira* [*Cairo*] by Ships of *Kolzum*, who are acquainted with the Navigation of the Red Sea, which those of *Siraf* dare not attempt, because of the extreme Danger, and because this Sea is full of Rocks at the Water's Edge; because also upon the whole Coast there are no Kings, or scarce any inhabited Place; and, in fine, because Ships are every Night obliged to put into some Place of Safety, for Fear of striking upon the Rocks; they sail in the Day time only, and all the Night ride fast at Anchor. This Sea, moreover, is subject to very thick Fogs, and to violent Gales of Wind, and so has nothing to recommend it, either within or without. It is not like the Sea of *India*, or of *China*, whose Bottom is rich with Pearls and Ambergreese; whose Mountains of the Coast are stored with Gold and precious Stones; whose Gulfs breed Creatures that yield Ivory; and among the Plants of whose Shores are Ebony, Red-wood, the Wood of *Hairzan*, Aloes, Camphire, Nutmegs, Cloves, Sandal

The Navigation of the *Siraf* Traders.

V. Lud. Barth. p. 155.

dal Wood, and all the other Spices and Aromatics; where Parrots and Peacocks are Birds of the Forest; and Musk and Civer are collected upon the Lands. In short, so productive are these Shores of estimable things, that it is impossible to reckon them up.

Ambergreece.

Ambergreece, which is thrown upon the Coast of this same Sea, is washed to Shore by the Swell: It begins to be found on the *Indian* Sea, but whence it comes is unknown. We only know that the best of it is thrown upon the *Barbarian* Coast, or upon the Confines of the Land of Negroes, towards *Sihar*, and Places thereabouts. It is of a bluish white, in round Lumps. The Inhabitants of this Country have Camels trained up to the Business, which they mount by Moonshine, and ride along shore. These Camels are broke to this, and as soon as they perceive a piece of Amber, they bend their Knees, and their Rider picks it up.

Another sort of Amber.

There is another sort which swims in great Lumps upon the Surface of the Sea, almost like the Body of an Ox, or a little less, and weigh a great deal. When a certain Fish of the Whale-kind, called *Tal*, sees these floating Lumps, he swallows the same, and is killed thereby. Then they see the Whale floating upon the Surface, and instantly the Men who are accustomed to this sort of Fishery, and know when these Whales have swallowed Amber, go out to him in their Boats; and darting him with Iron Harpoons, they tow him to shore, where

where they split him down the Back, and take out the Amber : What they find about the Belly of the Creature is commonly spoiled with the Wet, and contracts an unpleasant Scent. You may buy the Bones of this Fish, at the Druggists of *Bagdad* and *Bassora*. The Amber which has not been infected by Ordure, in the Belly of the Whale, is perfectly good. It is a usual thing to make Stools of the *Vertebrae* of the Back-bone of this Whale called *Tal*.

They say, that in a Village, ten Leagues from *Siraf*, called *Tain*, there are old Houses neatly enough built, the Lintels of whose Doors are of the Rib of this Whale. I have heard a Person say, That formerly one of them was thrown upon the Coast, not very far from *Siraf*; and that going to view him he saw People getting upon the Back of this Creature with Ladders; and that the Fishermen exposed him to the Sun, sliced away his Flesh, and having digged a Pit, gathered up the Grease which was melted by the Sun; and that having drained off all the Oil, they sold it to the Masters of Ships. This Oil, mixed up with another kind of Stuff, in use with Seamen, serves for calking of Ships, to secure the Seams of the Planking, and to stop up Leaks. This Whale Oil is negotiated for great Sums of Money.

*Buildings
of Whale
Ribs.*

Whale Oil.

Of Pearls.

Before we speak of Pearls, and the manner of their Formation, Let us praise God,
who

who hath created them by his Providence, who hath produced all Creatures upon Earth, and who even from them produces others, and many and various Things which Men know not, wherefore do we ascribe unto him all Majesty, and bless his mighty and glorious Name.

The Formation of Pearls.

Pearls begin to be formed of a Substance, at first, somewhat like the Plant called *Anjedana*, being of Size the same, in Colour and Figure pretty alike, small, thin, and tender, just like the Leaves of this Plant. At first it swims feebly on the Surface, and sticks to the Sides of Ships, under Water; where, in time, it hardens, grows, and gets covered with a Shell. When these Oysters become heavy, they fall down to the Bottom of the Sea, where they subsist after a manner to us unknown. They appear no other than a piece of red Flesh, like the Tongue towards the Root, without Bones, Sinews, or Veins.

Different Opinions upon this Head.

But there are various Opinions touching the Production of Pearls; and some say, When it rains the Oysters rise up to the Surface, and that, gaping, the Drops of Water they catch turn to Pearls. Others say they are generated in the Oysters themselves, which is most likely, and is confirmed by Experience. For most that are found in Oysters, are fixed and move not: When they are loose the Merchants call them *Seed Pearl*. God alone knoweth how this Matter is. Now this is the most wonderful thing we have heard concerning the Substance of Oysters. A

A certain *Arab* came formerly to *Bassora*, The Story of a Pearl. and brought with him a Pearl worth a great Sum of Money: He shew'd it to a Druggist of his Acquaintance, and, ignorant of the Value thereof, asked him what he thought of it. The Merchant telling him it was a Pearl, the *Arab* asked him what it might be worth; and he valued it at a hundred Pieces of Silver. The *Arab*, all astonished at his Words, asked if any Person would be willing to give him what he had said; whereupon the Merchant counted out a hundred Drams to him; and with this Money did the *Arab* purchase Corn to carry back into his own Country. The Merchant, on the other hand, brought the Pearl to *Bagdad*, and sold it at a very high rate, which inabled him to deal very considerably thereafter. Now this same Merchant declared, that he had examined the *Arab* touching the Origin of Pearls, and that he delivered himself to the following Effect.

I was going along, said he, by *Saman*, in Recited touching the Origin of Pearls the District of *Bakrein*, not very far distant from the Sea; and upon the Sand I saw a dead Fox, with something, at his Muzzle, that held him fast. I drew near, and saw a white, lucid Shell, in which I found the Pearl I took. Hence he gathered, that the Oyster was upon the Shore, driven thither by Tempest, which very often happens. The Fox passing by, and leering at the Meat of the Oyster, whose Shell stood open, did jump thereon, and thrust in his
H Muzzle

Muzzle to seize the Fish, who, closing, locked him fast, as has been said. For it is a Property of theirs, never to let go their hold of any thing, except forcibly opened by an Iron at the Edges. This is the Oyster that breeds Pearls, which it as carefully keeps as a Mother her Child. When therefore it was sensible of the Fox, it withdrew, as to avoid an Enemy; and the Fox feeling himself squeezed, did beat the Ground on each hand, till he was stifled, and so dyed. The *Arab* found the Pearl, and God would have it that he should apply himself to the Merchant, a very happy thing for him.

*Kings of
the Indies
wear Ear-
rings.*

The Kings of the *Indies* wear Ear-rings of precious Stones set in Gold. They wear also Collars of great Price, adorned with precious Stones of divers Colours, but especially green and red; yet Pearls are what they most esteem, and their Value surpasses that of all other Jewels; they at present hoard them up in their Treasures, with their most precious things. The Grandees of their Court, the great Officers and Captains, wear the like Jewels in their Collars. They dress in a half Vest, and carry a Parasol of Peacocks Feathers to shade them from the Sun; and are surrounded by those of their Train.

*Indians
who refuse
to eat with
each other.*

There are certain *Indians*, who never eat two out of the same Dish, or upon the same Table, and would deem it a very great Sin if they should. When they come to *Siraf*, and are invited by the considerable Merchants, were they a hundred
in

in Number, more or less, they must each have a separate Dish, without the least Communication with the rest.

Their Kings, and Persons of high Quality, have fresh Tables made for them every Day, together with little Dishes and Plates, wove of the Coco-nut Leaf; in which they eat what is prepared for their Subsistence: And their Meal over, they throw the Table, the Dishes and Plates, into the Water, together with the Fragments they have left. Thus at every Meal they have a new Service.

*Plates and
Dishes
made of the
Coco-nut
Leaf.*

To the *Indies* they formerly carried the *Dinars*, called *Sindiat*, or Gold Pieces of the *Sind*, and the *Dinar* there passed for three of ours, and even more.

Thither also are carried Emeralds from *Egypt*, which are set for Rings.

in the year 1711, the first time that the
 name of the British Empire was ever
 mentioned in the history of the world.

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REMARKS, OR NOTES

UPON THE CHIEF PASSAGES Of the Two Foregoing Accounts.

Of the Sea of Harkand.

THE Author, doubtless, intends the *Maldives*, which, according to the Eastern Geographers, divide the Sea of *Delarow*, or the Sea of the great Gulf of *India*, as far as *Ras Kemori*, or Cape *Comorin*, from that of *Harkand*. The *Arabs* and the other Orientals have Names for the Seas, which bear no Affinity with those of the other Languages. These Seas, without comprehending the Ocean which they call *Bah-Mahit*, are, the Sea of *China*, the Sea of *India*, the Sea of *Persia*, the Sea of *Kolzum*, or the *Red Sea*, so call'd from a Town which is thought to be the *Clysm* of the Ancients; the Sea of *Rum*, or of *Greece*, which is the *Mediterranean*; the Sea call'd *Al-Chozar*, or the *Caspian*, and the Sea of *Bont*, or the *Pontus Euxinus*. But these are not all the Names they give them; for the Sea of *India* is very often called the *Green Sea*; that of *Persia*, the Sea of *Bassora*; and other Names they have for particular Parts of these Seas. In like manner the Sea of *Harkand*, the Sea of *Delarow*, the Sea of *Zinge*, or that on the Coast of *Barbary*, and the *Dark Sea* which was almost unknown to the *Arabs*, it stretching away beyond the Island of *Madagascar* or *St. Lawrence*, have different Names

[A]

from the different Coasts they wash, and which they also call the *Salt Sea*.

Geograph.
Arabic.
Clim. 1.
p. 8.

The Sea of *Shelabet* our Author mentions to be divided by the Islands of *Ramni*, that is, by a Part of the Continent of the *Indies*, must be somewhere in that extent of Sea from Cape *Rasalgat* to *Malabar*: But as this extent seems to be very great, one would be apt to think this Sea extends but from *Shelabet*, which, according to *Abulfeda*, is a Town of the *Manibar*, which is a Part of the Peninsula of *India* within the *Ganges*, stretching from *Gizerat* or *Guzarat*, to *Coulam* or *Coulan*.

[B]

In these Seas are about 1900 Islands.

Dec. 3. 1.
3. c. 7.

The *Arabs* had but a very imperfect Knowledge of these Islands, and hence our Authors reckon them but at 1900; but our exact Navigators and Travelers, and particularly *Pyrard*, have it that the Inhabitants talk of above twelve thousand, and that the King of the *Maldives* assumes the Stile of *King of the twelve thousand Islands*. The *Nubian* Geographer calls them, with our Authors, *Robaiat* or *Robihat*, although the Name *Maldiva* be more agreeable to the *Malabaric* Tongue, in which *Dive* is an Island; whence we have *Sarandib* or *Sarandive*, *Angedive*, and many others. *Garcias de Orta*, a learned Portuguese Physician, says, they must be written *Naledive*, or the *Four Islands*, or rather as *Barros*, the *Thousand Islands*; if after all it would not be better to say they borrow their Name from *Maly*, *Maley*, or *Male*, the chief of them, where the King resides. The Ancients knew next to nothing of these Islands; and we cannot tell when the *Arabs* landed among them to propagate *Mohammedism*, which they professed when first discovered by the Portuguese. *Barros* relates that the Portuguese of his time had run about three hundred Leagues along these Islands, from those of *Mamal*, a Moor of *Cananor* who was Master of the Northernmost, about forty Leagues from the Coast of *Malabar*, and in the Latitude of 12 Degrees and 30 Minutes; and that the Southernmost they knew were

On the Foregoing Accounts.

were those of *Candu*, and *Adu* in the seventh Degree of the Antarctic Hemisphere : But that in the Sea Charts of the Moors, these Islands lay in a Cluster along the Coast of *India*, from the Flats or Shelves of *Padua*, to the Parallel of Mount *Deli* ; and then ran away Eastward till they almost touched *Fawa-bead*, and the Coast of *Sunda*. The Portuguese and Dutch Charts, which place these Islands of *Adu* and *Candu* a little more Northerly, take no Notice of the others which should have been found out after so many Voyages, to and again, in these Seas : But the Moorish Charts are so very inaccurate, that it is very possibly they stretch out this String of Islands much farther than it really goes ; for by the later Voyages it is certain that these Islands, of a Cluster of which, according to *Pyrard*, each Province or Group is formed, each of which they call an *Atollon*, reach not farther than 5 Degrees South. The Arabian Geographer had certainly seen what our Author writes of these Islands, which he describes accurately enough, except when he relates that the Capital is call'd *Anabona* ; whereas in the original Text, which is corrupted in the *Roman* Edition, it is said that the King of the Isles *Robihat*, the same with the *Maldives*, resides in the Island called *Maly*, or *Male*, which this Geographer writes of the King of the Island or Peninsula of *Comar*, which forms the Point and Part of the Eastern Coast of *India*.

Clim. 1.
p. 8.

He also calls these Islands *Robihat* ; whereas our Author says, that all the Islands were comprehended under this Name, not excepting *Ceylon* or *Sarandib* ; and whereas the Original from whence this Translation is borrowed, reads *Dobijat*. In the *Indian* Tongue *Dive* is an Island or Isle, but the *Arabs* write it *Dib*, as appears by their *Sarandib*, or *Siendiba*, as it is written in the Fragment of *Cosmas Indopleustes*.

Our Author says, these Islands were governed by a Queen ; and the *Nubian* Geographer reports that they have a King, but that his Wife has all the Power in her own Hands, that she is uncontrollable by the King, and orders all matters of State and Property to her own good liking. The History of these Islands is too much in the dark for us to examine

Voyages de Thevenot.

Ubi supra.

REMARKS

Leb. Tarik.

*Hackluyt
1 Edit. p.
156.*

mine into the Origin of this Custom, which was abolished before the *Portuguese* first came hither. Perhaps the *Arabs*, who settled here, introduced, with *Mohammedism*, many of their Customs, and among the rest that of excluding Women from all public Employments; or it may have happen'd that when the *Arabs* discovered these Islands, some Woman ruled as Regent during her Son's Minority, such being the known Custom over all the *Molucca* Islands; which also prevailed among even the *Moguls*, whose Empire, during the Minority of *Gayuk Khan*, was governed by *Turakia Katun* his Mother. And thus the first Discoverers giving it out, that the Islands were under a Queen, easily persuaded others that it was the usual Form of the Government; and as Voyages hither did not happen often, they remained a long time under this Mistake. And so it was with the King of *Morocco*, who in the Year 1685, speaking of the *English*, said, they were not to compare with other Nations, because they obey'd a Woman; for this Prince who valued himself upon his Parts, had in some of his Histories read many things concerning Queen *Elizabeth*, in whose Reign the first Treaties of Commerce, with the Kingdom of *Morocco*, were managed by *Edmund Hogan*, her Majesty's Ambassador to *Muley Abdal-Malec* King of *Morocco*, in the Year M. DLXXVII.

What is said of the *Ambergrease*, which so abounds in these Islands, is confirm'd by *Garcias de Orta*, *Pyrrard*, *Barbosa*, and many other Travellers.

The Shells are still current among the *Maldivese*, and in many Parts of the *Indies*, they pass for small Money; and not only in the *Indies*, but on the Coast of *Guinea*, and in the Kingdoms of *Benin* and *Congo*, were they are used in Traffic. *Barros* thus expresses himself thereon. They have a kind of Shells about the Size of a Snail, but they are of another Shape, hard, white, and lucid; and some of them are so well illuminated, and stained of divers Colours, that being set in Gold for Buttons, they look like enamel. Ships ballast with these Shells for *Bengal* and *Siam*, where they are used at Market for change like our small Copper Pieces. The same Author takes Notice of the
Way

On the Foregoing Accounts.

Way they take these Shells, and therein agrees with our Author; and Pyrard confirms what he says of the Treasures of these Shells the Princes of the Country have. P. 73. 1.
Barb. loc.
stat.

*In the same Sea towards the Island of Saran- [C]
dib are many Isles.*

It were to be wished our Author had expressed himself a little clearer in this Passage and many others, which relate to the Position and Place of the Coasts and Islands of the *Indian Sea*; which cannot easily be gathered from so imperfect a Description. He says, that in the Sea beyond the *Maldives*, there is a great Number of Islands, or Peninsula's, the *Arabs* having no Word to express these last: Wherefore they call *Spain*, *Fezirat-al-Andalus*, *The Island of Andalusia*, because it is washed by the Sea on three Sides. They therefore called Islands or Peninsula's that vast extent of Coast from Cape *Comorin* to *China*, where, it seems, we must place those Nations, who are but partly known to us, and under very different Names. In those Countries we find all that our Authors and the *Nubian Geographer*, their Copist, attribute to these great Islands, but which cannot hold good of the Islands of *Sumatra*, *Java*, and *Borneo*, which possibly are some of those described in the Sequel.

The Isles our Authors call *Ramni*, are otherwise called *Rani*, or *Rana*, and at this day give Title to a *Raja* or idolatrous Prince of the *Indies*, who derives his origin from King *Porus*. In the *Arabian Geography* this Island is called *Rami* as in the *Oriental Library* of Mr. d'Herbelot.

The Islands of *Najabalus*, or *Lajabalus*, (for the Name is spelt both ways) are, it is probable, the small Isles of *Nicobar*, where Ships still generally touch when bound to some Parts of the *Indies*.

Our Authors observe, that in these Islands there was a barbarous Race of Man-eaters; and this *Teixeira* confirms, adding thereto a still more barbarous Custom of eating their Relations when they

*Geo. Arab.
supra.*

P. 188.

they are grown old. He places these Barbarians between the Isles of *Nicobar* and *Tanacarim* or *Tanassarim*: And this Custom remains to this Day, if we may believe *Navarette*; It is certain they eat alive those Europeans they can catch.

L. 1. c. 18.

Marco Polo tells us, that the Inhabitants of the Island he calls *Angaman*, devoured all those they could lay Hands on: *Teixeira* says also of the *Javans*, that about an hundred Years before he wrote, that is, about two hundred Year ago, they ate Human Flesh, a Custom they unnaturally adhered to, till such time as they imbraced *Mohammedism*. The *Peguans* were guilty of the same, and sold Human Flesh publickly. Most of the *Cafres* on the Coast of *Barbary* are Anthropophagites also, and particularly those call'd *Zimbis*. These in the Year 1589 made an Incurſion into the interior *Afric*, to the Number of 80000, and devoured all the Persons that fell into their Hands; and thus desolated a Tract of above three hundred Leagues. The *Mumbos* and most of the other *Cafres* of *Afric* are Devourers also of the same kind; and the Portuguese of *Mosambique*, and the Neighbouring Parts, agree that they ate the Bodies of such as were executed. *M. Polo*, besides other Parts of the *Indies* and *China*, where he observes the People to be Anthropophagites, says, that in the Kingdom of *Fleſch*, which is one of the eight of the lesser of *Java*, the Inhabitants ate Human Flesh as well as those of the Kingdom of *Samara*, those of *Dragoian*, and those of the greater *Java*, according to *Barthema*, who fold their ancient Relations to Men, who bought them to eat.

Joa. dos Santos

Hist. de Ethiopia,

Or. l. 2.

p. 69.

L. 3. c. 11.

c. 13. 14.

L. 3. c. 29.

The same *M. Polo*, speaking of the Astrologers, or Magicians of the great Khan of the *Tartars*, says, that when a Man was condemned to Death, they took him, dress'd him, and ate his Flesh.

P. 314. c.

319.

Barbosa writes almost the same of *Slam* and the *Celebes*, and adds, that when a Criminal was to be sentenc'd to Death, they begg'd him of the King to eat. *Nicolo di Conti* observes also of the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Andramania*, or that of *Andaman*,

P. 339. c.

and those of *Sumatra*, that they would eat Human Flesh;

On the foregoing Accounts.

Flesh; and according to *Pigafetta*, there were certain hairy People in the *Molucca's*, who having killed a Man, ate his Heart with Lemon Juice. P. 364. l.

Of the Island of Ceylon.

[D]

The Orientals know the Island of *Ceylon* by no other Name than *Sarandib*, which has some affinity with the *Σαρωνδίδα* of *Cosmas*, the Author of the *Christian Topography*. *Dive*, in the *Indian Tongue*, is an Island, and the *Arabs*, who have no V Consonant, do, after the manner of the *Greeks*, end their last Syllable with a B. Thus all the *Indian Names* ending in *Dive*, give you to understand that the Place meant, is either an Island or a Peninsula; for most of the Orientals have but one Word for the one and the other. From *Ceylon* the *Arabs* have formed *Saran*; for the two Liquids L and R are often converted into each other. *Arrian* writes, that Westward there lies an Island called *παλαισιμένδε*, and by the Ancients *Taprobana*, where you must correct his Text, ἤσθ' λεγέμεν καλαὶ ταπερσάνη παρὰ τῷ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις αὐτῆς Σιμένδε; which wants it, by a Mistake of the Transcribers, who have of the λ and α in ΣΙΛΑΝΔΟΥ formed a μ.

Voya de Thevenot.
T. 1.
Vide Bardos. p. 312. e. f.

The same *Cosmas* gives it for the *Taprobana* of the Ancients. He says, it is about nine hundred Miles in Circumference, and that it was governed by two Kings, one of whom was Master of the Mines of *Yacinth*, or *Iacinth*, a general Name under which are comprehended several sorts of coloured Stones, which the *Arabs* call *Yacut* or *Iacut*; that some *Persian Christians* were there settled, and had a Priest, a Deacon, and all the Church Liturgy; that the Kings and most of the Inhabitants were Strangers; that Commodities were brought hither from all Parts, and even from *China*, this Island being as it were in the Heart of all the *Indies*; that it is five Days distant from the Continent of the *Indies*; and that its chief Scale was call'd *Marallo*; in fine, that there were found the *κοχλίες*, or Pearl Oysters, as our Author confirms.

What the *Arabs* relate of the Print of a Foot upon the top of a Mountain, which they say is *Adam's Step*; is to be found in most of the *Arabian* Authors, who are very fond of such Stories; and is confirmed by the Tradition of the Country, handed down to our present Times. *Robert Knox*, an *Englishman*, who lived twenty Years in this Island, and who publish'd an ample Account of it in the Year 1681, expresses himself to this effect. "Southward of *Conde-Uda* there is a Mountain, "supposed to be the highest in the Island, and "called *Hamalell* in the Language of the *Chingulas*, but the *Portuguese*, and the other *Europeans* "call it *Adam's Peek*. This Mountain is in the "Form of a Sugar-loaf, very steep, and upon the "top of it is a flat Stone, on which is seen the "Impression of a Man's Foot, but larger than the "Life, being about two Foot in length. The People of this Island reckon it a meritorious Work, "to visit this Trace or Impression, and fall "down before it; and generally towards the beginning of their New Year, which is in the "Month of *March*, the Men, Women and Children resort to this great and lofty Mountain, there "to perform their Devotions."

Iud. Barthem. l. 3.
4.

Mart.
Hist. 236.
Teixeira, l.
i. p. 184.
Vid. Marc.
Pol. l. 3.
c. 19 &
23.

It is the common Opinion, that the *Chinese* peopled part of this Island, and that the Name of *Chingulas* or *Chingalas*, is derived from a *Chinese* Colony, settled on the *Point de Gale*, and descended from certain *Chinese* driven hither by stress of Weather.

This, Father *Martini* confirms, saying, *Cingala* is *Sinarum Syrtis*, so called because here perished a Fleet an Emperor of *China* had fitted out to conquer this Island; and that *Ceylon*, or *Sinlan*, signifies *Chinese*. In another place he takes Notice that the *Chingulas* are much braver than the other Natives of the Country: But as *Navarette* very pertinently animadverts, This Proof makes quite against what it is intended to demonstrate, since it does not seem likely that they should inherit from the *Chinese* a Courage they never possessed.

Some

On the Foregoing Accounts.

Some Authors have pretended that Ceylon is not the *Taprobana* of the Ancients, but that *Sumatra* is the Place. These are *Andrew Corsali*, *Maximilian of Transylvania*, *Barthama*, *Gaspar Barreyros*, *Pigafeta*, and some others.

P. 180.
P. 348.
P. 184.
P. 256.
P. 372.

Ships built in the Indies.

[E]

This same sort of Ships is exactly described by *Marco Polo*, under the Name of Ships of *Ormuz*; for at that time all the Commerce of *Siraf*, which was afterwards transacted at the Isle of *Kis*, was remov'd to *Ormuz*. "The Ships of *Ormuz* are very "bad and dangerous, and Merchants often run a very "great Risque in them. For they cannot fasten "their Planks with Bolts, because the Wood is as "hard and as brittle as Earthen-ware; so that when "they attempt to drive so much as a Nail into it, "the Nail starts back and breaks. Wherefore "they bore the ends of their Planks as gently as "possible with an Augre, and then drive in Tree-nails, and so make them fast. Then they bind "them or rather sew them together with a strong "Thread of Coco-nut, which Nut is large, and "all over cover'd with strong Fibres like Horse "Hair. They then launch them, and when every "other part of them is decayed, these Threads are "clean and unhurt; and of the same they make "Cordage and Cables, which preserve a long time "in the Water. They use no pitch to save their "Ships from rotting, but use, instead of it, a Fish "Oyl. *

L. 1. c.
16. p. 2.

* *Le navi d'Ormuz sono pessime & pericolose, on de li mercanti spessa volte in quelle pericolano: & la causa e questa, par che non si ficano con chiodi per esser il legno col quale si fabricano duro, & di materia fragile a modo di vaso di terra, & subito che si ficca il chiodo, si ribatte in se medesimo, & quasi si rompe. Ma le tavole si foranno con trivello di ferro piu leggermente che possono nell' estremita, & doppo vi si mettono alcune chavi*

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REMARKS.

Almost all the Modern Writers who have treated of the *Maldives* and the *Coco-nut*, agree with our Ancient Traveller in the manner of building these *Indian* Embarkations; and add, as a remarkable Circumstance, That this Tree alone not only affords Materials wherewithal to build a Ship, but to load her also when she is finished. The great Planks of the Trunk serve for her Hull and Masts; with the Filaments or Fibres of the Nut they spin the Cordage and the Sails; and they calk her with the coarser Stuff, and the Oil extracted from the Tree. They load her with Nuts both green and dry, and of the Liquor they draw from them, which is very pleasant and sweet at first, but turns into a Vinegar if kept, they make a kind of Cream, Comfits, Butter, and an excellent Oil for Wounds.

[F] *An unknown Isle where are Mines of Silver.*

Amidst such a Number of Islands as are scatter'd up and down the *Indian* Sea, quite up to the Coast of *China*, it is a hard matter to single out which of them our Author means. It seems that even in his Days, the Course to be steer'd for this Island was lost, and that Chance only directed Ships thither. There are Silver Mines in most of these Islands, as Travellers say.

[G] *A white Cloud, or Water-spout.*

This white Cloud, which has such extraordinary Effects, is very exactly described in the Second Volume

chiavi di legno, con le quali si ferrano: doppo le legano, o vero cuciono con un filo grosso, che si cava di sopra il scorzo della noci d'India, le quali sono grandi: E sopra vi sono fili, come sete di cavallo, li quali posti in acqua com e putrefatta la sostanza rimangono mondi, E se ne fanno corde, con le quali legano le navi, E durano longamente in acqua: alle qual navi non si pone pesce per dissea della putrefattione ma s'ungono con olio fatto di grasso de pesci, E calcafi la stoppa.

On the Foregoing Accounts.

11

of Mr. Thevenot the Younger. It is commonly call'd a Water-spout; and the *Arabian* Geographer speaks of it in almost the same terms. This sort of Whirlpool is not only seen all over the *Indian* Sea, but in the Sea of *Persia* also. *James Lancaster* observed one of them in the Straits of *Malacca*, on the way of *Achem*, attended with the same disturbance and rising of the Water described by our Authors.

Purchas
Vol. I. p.
159.

Tufan, Tuffoon, or Whirl-wind.

Our Authors observe that the Coast of *China* is subject to violent Storms, and particularly to those Squalls or Frets of Wind called, in their Language, *Tufan*, from a *Greek* Word *τυφών*, which signifies almost the same thing. The *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* derive from the *Arabs* their Word *Tufaon*, or *Tufon*, which, on the Coast of *China*, comes on from the Eastern Board, and begins in the Month of *August*. *Navarette* is in the wrong when he looks for the Etymology of this Word in the *Chinese* Language, in which, says he, *Tung fung* is an Easterly Wind. The *Indians* of *Manila* call it *Bagio*, and it is to the full as violent as the Hurricans among the *American* Islands. These *Typhons* are much to be dreaded, especially in the Passage from the *Indies* to *China*, as we may perceive by many Examples to be found in the Writings of the most famous Navigators of these last Ages. But although this Word is originally *Greek*, and signifies rather a Storm attended with Thunder than a *Tufan* or Hurrican, during which the Wind shall shift to every Point of the Compass; yet the *Arabs* derive it from a Word of theirs which signifies *to turn*, believing it a Native of their Tongue, just as *Navarette* took it for an Offspring of the *Chinese*. *Varentius* says, the *Arabs* called it *Oli-fant*; he means *Al-Tufan*; but tho' he is out as to this, he describes it very exactly in his *Universal Geography*.

[H]

P. 423.

L. 1. p.
283. Edit.
II.

It appears like Sparks of Fire.

This was observed by Father *Martini* on the Coast of *China*: And *John Davis*, an *Englishman*, took Notice

[I]

Purchas.
Vol. 1. p.
132.

tice of the same Phenomenon in the Year 1604, being in 7 Degrees of Southern Latitude, not far from the Isle of *Fernand de Noronha*; he says, the Glare was so strong he could easily see to read by it.

[K]

An Island without Women.

This, very probably, is the Island mentioned by *Marco Polo*: "Beyond *Chefmacoran*, about five hundred Miles in the main Sea, somewhat Southerly, there are two Islands, the one *Masculine*, and the other *Feminine*, about thirty Miles wide of each other. In the one the Men live without the Women, and this is called the *Masculine Island*; and in the other, which is called the *Feminine Island*, the Women live without the Men. The Inhabitants of these Isles are one People, however, and are baptized Christians. The Men cross over to the Female Island, and stay there three Months together, (*viz.*) *March, April, May*, each in his House with his Wife; and then return to the Male Island, where they abide for the rest of the Year, following each his Business, without the Participation of a Wife. The Women keep the Male Children till they are twelve Years old, and then send them to their Fathers: But the Girls they keep till they are of Age to Marry, and then dispose of them to the Men of the other Island. It seems the Air of the Place will not allow the Men to be always with their Wives, because they would dye. They have a Bishop under him of *Socotra*." *

* *Oltra de Chefmacoran a 500 Miglia in alto mare verso mezzo di, vi sono due Isole, l'una vicina all'altra 30 Miglia. Et in una dimorano gli huomini senza Femine, & si chiama l'Isola Mascolina: Nell'altra stanno le femine senza huomini, & si chiama Isola feminina. Quelli che habitano in dette due Isole, sono una cosa Medesima, & sono Christiani battezzati. Gli huomini van all'Isola delle Femine & dimorano con quelle tre mesi*
continua

Nicòlo di Conti has it, that they are obliged to retire after a three Months abode, or that otherwise they would dye by the malignity of the Climate. We can say nothing of these Islands, since it is so hard to find them out by such an imperfect Description. But what *Marco Polo* says, can never be true, with regard to the Time the Men cross over to the Women; for being Christians, the Discipline which still subsists in the Churches of the *Levant*, would have obliged them to have abstained from their Wives during Lent, which they keep much about the same Time we do. Nor is it an easy matter to understand how the Women could live on their Island without any outward Worship, which must have been suspended in the absence of the Clergy, who nevertheless might cross over at the Time mentioned by *Marco Polo*, which happens to be also the Season when they celebrate the Feast of *Easter*.

The Course they steered for China.

[L]

It is very difficult exactly to trace out the Course the *Arabs* steered for *China*, as it is found in our Authors; not only because many Towns they mention have been destroyed, but also because the Ancients, who only coasted it along, held a different Rout from that now shaped by our Pilots.

The *Chinese* came as far as *Siraf*, but dared not stir beyond it, because of the foulness of the Weather, and the heaviness of the Sea, which their Ships could not live in. They did not then venture so far as *Madagascar*,

continui, cioè Marzo, Aprile & Maggio: & ciascuno habita in casa, con la sua moglie, & doppo ritorna all' Isola Mascolina, dove dimorano tutto, il resto dell' anno, facendo le loro arti senza femina alcuna. Le femine tengono suoi figlioli fino a dodici anni, & doppo li mandano alli loro padri: Se ella e femina, la tengono fin che ella e da marito & poi la maritano negli huomini della Isola. E par che quel aere non patisca che gli huomini continuino a stare appresso le femine, perche moririano. Hanno il loro vescovo qual e sottoposto a quello del Isola di Socotra.

Hist. l. 6.
p. 237.

dagastar, as Father Martini pretends they did, because in the Bay of *Santa Clara* there is a People resembling the *Chinese*, and not unlike them in Speech. He offers nothing in Proof of this but the Report of some Seamen: But granting the thing to be as he would have it, these *Chinese* may have been driven thither by Tempest, and there have taken up their abode, because they could not possibly return back again to their Country. On the other hand, it is evident that *Navarette* is mistaken when he says the Straits of *Sincapor* were their *Ne plus ultra*.

Abulfeda
z. 319.

Siraf was formerly a Maritime Town in the Gulf of *Persia*, 60 Leagues from *Shiraz*, according to *Abulfeda*, or 63 according to *Ebn Haukal*. They place it in 78 or 79 Degrees 30 Minutes of Longitude, and in the Latitude of 26 Degrees 40 Minutes, or 29 and 30. They say it was a Town of great Fame for Trade, but that the Country about it was bare and uncultivated, because of its sterility; quite destitute of Trees or Gardens; that the Heat was excessive; that the Town was well built, and that some of its private Inhabitants were so rich, as to have laid out thirty thousand *Dinars*, or fifteen thousand *Pistoles French*, in raising and embellishing their Houses; and in short, that most of them were built with Wood brought from the Country of the *Franks*, or *Europe*. The *Arabian Geographer*, also mentions this City in many Places, in the Description of the third Climate, as well as most of the other Geographers. Trade still flourished there in the Days of *Abulfeda*, or about the beginning of the fourteenth Century; but when it began to migrate to the Island of *Kis-Ben-Omira*, then *Siraf* soon fell to decay; but it made no long stay at *Kis*, but changed Seat for *Ormuz*, where it entirely settled.

P. 6.

Col. in
Alfrag. p.
117.

All the *Arabian Ships* put into *Siraf*, and especially when they came from *Bassora*, the chief Scale for the Merchants of the *Red Sea*, *Egypt*, and even the Coast of *Ethiopia*. The *Chinese* and *Indian Merchants* brought thither all the Commodities the East could furnish, whether from the *Indies*, the *Terra firma*, or the Islands then known.

They sailed from *Siraf* to *Mascat*, in the Country of *Oman*, by *Ptolomey* called *Omanum Emporium*, and
by

by *Arrian, Omana*. The Town also was called *Sohar*, or *Sohar-Oman*, or *Shih'r Oman*. This Passage is pretty dangerous for the Rocks, Isles, and Flats which lye in the way. It is impossible to say what Places our *Arabs* mean, since they give us no Positions or Situations : But it should seem that *Kaucamali*, or *Kaucam*, is *Cochim*, or *Cochin*, which it was easy to reach in a Month's Passage, with the Wind aft ; because of the Monsoons which are very regular. Immediately beyond *Cochin*, is the Sea of *Harkand*, as the *Arabs* call it ; and in ranging along the Shore, they first touched at *Cala*, or *Calabar*, which is the same thing. An anonymous *Persian* Author, whose Abridgment, or Epitome of Geography, is in the King's Library, says, that this Town is in part inhabited by *Moslems*, or *Musulmen*, and that there are Trees here which yield *Camphire*, as may be proved by the Testimony of *Serapion*, by reading *Cala* instead of *Calca*. C. 144.

Our Author says, that *Cala*, or *Calabar*, is about a Month's sail from *Kaucam*, but this does not afford us much light whereby to discover its Position. *Abu Zeid*, the Author of the second Relation, seems to have better explained the thing, saying, that the Isle of *Cala* is in the mid Passage between *China* and the Country of the *Arabs*, and that it is eighty Leagues in Circuit. Thus according to his Notion, it comprehends an extent of Country under a Capital of the same Name, which must have been somewhere about the Point of *Malabar*.

From *Cala* in ten Days they reached a Place called *Betuma* : In *Syriac*, *Beit-Touma*, is the *House*, or *Church* of *St. Thomas*, which is upon the same Rout, and cannot be very far from *Cala*, or *Calabar*. The Ancients must have touched there, because they shaped their Course between the Coast and the Island of *Ceylon* ; whereas at present Ships stretch to the Southward of the Point *de Gale*, and stand over for the Isles of *Nicobar* which must have been those of *Najabalus*, this Name, it is probable, being equally corrupted by the *Arabs* and by the *Europeans*. They are in eight Degrees of Northern Latitude, & consequently beyond *Cala* and *Betuma* ; and thus there must be some Transposition in the Description of this Course, when they are

J. Davis
ap. Purch.
Vol. 1. p.
133.

are named before *Betuma* and *Katrang*, or *Kenerag*, according to *Benjamin the Jew*.

It is hard to say what Place this last was, if it be not the *Chitran* in our Charts, as well as to find the true Place of *Senef*, or *Sanf*, although the *Aromatic Wood* shipped there, was for many Ages known all over the East. *Serapion*, who speaks of it, though it can hardly be known in the Translation we have, which reads *Seifi* instead of *Senef*, gives us some Direction towards finding this Place, by telling us it is but three Leagues from Cape *Comorin*, or *Ras Comri*, where the *Wood Aloes* is to be had, but it is not so good.

Clim. 1.
p. 10.

The *Arabian Geography*, printed at *Rome*, can reflect no Light upon this Obscurity; for the Text must be sadly distorted, since it makes two distinct Continents, of *Malai*, which should be the Point of *Malabar*, and *Senef*, and since it is very likely we should read *Kaukam-Mali*, or *Melai*, instead of *Malai*.

The same Author says, that from *Senef* they go to *Sandarfulat*, or, as it is in the *Arabic* printed at *Rome*, *Sandifulat*. The Word *Pulo* is frequently compounded by the *Malays*, to signify, that the Places whose Names have that Adjunct, or Affix, are Islands: And there is a great Number of these in the Sea from the Gulf of *Bengal*, quite home to *China*. *Fulat* must then be the *Pulo* of the *Malays*, and *Sandar Fulat* may be *Pulo Condor* which is the nearest to *China*, and may for that Reason be the Place the *Arabs* steered for, when they were bound for the Sea of *China*. And as their Navigation was rather Coasting than Sailing, and as their Ships were very handy and light, they might the more safely venture through the Straits of *Sincapor*, and keep the Shore aboard all the way: And thus they kept between that String of Islands and Flats, which stretches away from the Coast of *Cambodia*, quite home to the Mouth of *Canton River*; nor must we wonder they were five or six Weeks upon this Passage.

It is difficult to trace out the particulars of this whole Voyage by such defective helps; and after all, that might be done towards it, nothing but a bare Curiosity could enjoy any Satisfaction in it; for our Seamen at present

present know more of those Seas, and how to steer in them better than the greatest Navigators of Antiquity.

The Sea of *Sanji* must be somewhere about the Gulf of *Cochinchina*, which however, as has been observed by several Authors, is not the true Name of the Country, but *Caochi*; and even this is a Name imposed on it by the *Chinese*; so that this diversity in the *Arabic* Name may borrow upon some ancient Name of the Country, we know not.

To a Place called *Betuma*.

[M]

Betuma is a *Syriac* Compound, whose true Orthography is *Beit-Touma*, which both in *Arabic* and *Syriac*, is the House or Church of *St. Thomas*. In like manner the *Syrians* call the City of *Martyropolis*, *Bargamea*, or *Beit-Garmea*, and so of others. But as much as our Author leaves us in the dark as to the Course he steered; if we allow that *Kaukam*, or *Conkan*, as the *Portuguese* write it, is somewhere about the Gulf of *Cambaya*, and if we grant that their Navigation was no better than Coasting, which cannot well be called in Question; than need we not admire that the *Arabs* should reckon it a Month's Voyage from thence to *Betuma*. *Calabar*, *Senef*, *Kadrange*, or *Cbitran*, are in the Neighbourhood of *St. Thomas's*. *Marco Polo* and almost all the old Voyage Writers agree, that by the Tradition of the Country *St. Thomas* should be interred in this very Place; and this is confirmed by *John di Empoli*, *Barbosa*, *Corsali*, and almost all the other first Travellers. This Tradition is still in force among the *Nestorians*; and one of their most famous Authors, having summarily touched upon the Preaching of *St. Thomas*, says, his Tomb was discovered upon the Sea Shore, in a Village famous for being the Scene of his Martyrdom. To this Tradition may be added that of the *Malabar*, and most of the other *Syrian* Churches, who all believe *St. Thomas* penetrated into the *Indies*, and that he there lies intombed: But this shall be treated more amply in the Dissertations on the the *Nestorian* Churches.

P. 146.

312. 3151

Amr. Hist.

Ar. MSS.

of the Nestorians.

[N]
Atlas Sin.
p. 171.

Flying Fish.

It is called *Hoangcioqu*, according to Father *Martini*, who says it is a Yellow Fish, or rather a Bird; for in Summer time it flies upon the Mountains; and, Autumn over, plunges into the Sea again, and becomes a very excellent Fish. He speaks of another sort of Animal in the Sea of *Canton*, which has the Head of a Bird, and the Tail of a Fish.

[O]

Petrified Crabs.

The above cited Author describes these to the following Effect: "There are certain Sea-Crabs which are taken alive, between *Quantung* and the Island of *Hainan*, which differ little or nothing from the common Crab; but when they are out of the Water, and are sensible of the Air, they harden like the hardest Stone, though they preserve their pristine Shape. The *Portuguese* use them in Fevers. There are of this same kind in a certain Lake on the Island of *Hainan*."

[P]

A Burning Mountain, or Vulcano.

Varenii
Geograph.
p. 94.
& seq.
Argentola.
Hist. de
Moluc.
Barbosa,
p. 319.

There is a famous *Vulcano* in the greater *Java*, near the Town of *Pandura*, which belched out a prodigious Quantity of Flames, Stones, and Cinders, in the Year 1586. There is another in the Isle of *Banda*, and another in the Island of *Sumatra*: In some of the *Molucca* Islands there are the like, particularly in *Ternate*, where there is a Mountain whose Top throws up Fire, and from whence issues many Springs of living Water. *Nucopora* which is either among the Isles of *Nicobar*, or else one of the small Islands about *Java*, has, according to *Barbosa*, a Burning Mountain also.

There is a Mohammedan Kadi settled at Canfu.

[Q]

This remarkable Fact is to be found in no Author older than this, and proves that the *Mohammedans* went first to *China* by Sea, allured thither by the Advantages of the Trade. This *Moslem* Judge or *Kadi* of the Merchants, was properly a Consul: By degrees he became Judge over all the *Mohammedans*; and even took on him the Religious Functions, presiding at their Religious Assemblies. But our Author observes it as something very extraordinary, that the Merchants from *Irak* were not against his performing the Spiritual Office; for it properly belonged to a Man of the Law, and a Merchant could not regularly act therein; and he was still less qualified to judge the Subjects of the *Kalif*, without Authority from him.

The Sermon, or *Cotbat*, was a Discourse with which the *Imams*, or Rectors of the *Moschs* commonly ushered in their *Friday's* Prayers. These Discourses consisted of Praises to God, and to *Mohammed*, varied to the Circumstances of the Times; and therein the *Imams* affected to display their Rhetoric, but especially when the *Moslems* had obtained any Advantage over the Christians; and they concluded with a Prayer for the *Kalif*, as had been Customary after the *Kalif* had laid aside the Custom of Preaching the *Cotbat* in person, so that this was a kind of public Homage they paid him. This is the Ceremony so often mentioned in the History of the *Saracens*, and all the other Oriental Writings. The Person in whose Name the *Cotbat* was delivered, was thereby acknowledged Supreme: For which Reason the Princes of the Family of *Buiya*, the *Seljukids*, and the others of different Families, who revolted from the *Kalifs*, paid them the Honour of the *Mosch*; whereas the *Fatemites*, who usurped the Title of *Kalif* in *Afric* and *Egypt*, had the *Cotbat* in their own Name, without any mention made of the *Kalifs* at *Bagdad*, and thereby declared themselves Heretics. Towards the Extinction of the *Kalifat* at *Bagdad*, the *Kalifs* were mere Cyphers; and the Honour of the *Mosch*, the Right of Investitures, and that of coining Mo-

Emir.
Cond. Hist.
de Ali.
MSS. Pers.
sica.

REMARKS

ney, were all they had left. The Descendants of *Buiya*, who seized on all that part of *Asia* which owned obedience to the *Kalifs*, ordered the *Cotbat* after this manner; the *Kateb* or Preacher, having offered up Praises to God and to *Mohammed*, began first to speak of the *Kalif*, and then of the *Soltan*; and the same it was in the matter of Coinage, for on one side was the *Kalif's* Name, and on the Reverse the *Soltan's*. The same was observed by the *Seljukids*: But as their Empire extended from *Cashgar* quite into *Egypt*, and almost to the very Gates of *Constantinople*, and comprehended a great many tributary Principalities; mention was first made of the *Kalif* out of Religion, then of the *Soltan* out of Duty as Sovereign, and then of the Prince himself, who by this Form acknowledged the *Kalif* his Superior in Spirituals, and the *Soltan*, in Temporal Concerns; and in paying this Honour, consisted the Devotion of the *Mohammedan* Princes, who adhered to the *Sonnite* or *Orthodox Kalifs*. So *Nuroddin* the *Soltan* of *Syria*, set up the *Cotbat* in the Name of the *Kalifs* all over his Dominions, and even in *Egypt* as soon as *Saladin*, who was general of his Forces, made himself Master of *Kabira* or *Cairo*. And their example was followed by all the *Mohammedan* Princes in *Mejopotamia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, in the Year of the *Hejra* DCXLVIII. and of *Christ* M CCL. after the Death of *Moadzam-Turan-Shah*, the last of the Family of the *Ayubites*, Successors of *Saladin*, who was killed by his own People while *St. Louis* was in Prison.

Abulfeda
Ebn Chuk-
na Mak.
Hist. E-
gypt.

The *Tartars* who in the Reign of *Holaku-Khan* conquer'd all the East to the Frontiers of *Egypt*, and who murdered the *Kalif Al-Motaseim*, the last of the *Abassid* family, by tying him up in a Sack, and marching their Army over him, put an end to the *Kalifat*. After this the *Mohammedans* were without a *Kalif*, and the *Cotbat* was suspended for about four Years; at the Expiration of which *Soltan Bibars-Bondokdari*, the Fourth of the *Turkish Mamluks*, raised to that Dignity an unknown Person, who pretended to be of the Family of *Abbas*, in the Year of the *Hejra* DCLIX. and of *Christ* MCCLIX. But this new *Kalif*, who had a small Army committed to him by *Bibars*, attempting to drive the *Tartars* away from *Bagdad*, was slain five Months

Months afterwards with all that belonged to him. *Bibars* then sat up another called *Hakem*, whom the People nick-named the *Black Kalif*; and him *Bibars* kept a kind of Prisoner, close up in a Palace, and abridged of all Liberty; though honoured as *Kalif*, and particularly with the *Cotbat* or Sermon, which was delivered in his Name in the *Mosch*. The *Turkish* and *Circassian Mamluks* kept up this Custom, and the Princes, their Tributaries, did the same, in acknowledgment of the Pontificat and Sovereignty of the imaginary *Kalif*; and thus the thing stood, till the Defeat and Death of *Tumam-bey*, the twenty third and last *Circassian* Soltan, who was hanged by the order of *Selim*, the Emperor of the *Turks*, in the Year of *Christ* MDXV. Thus upon this second Extinction of the *Kalifat*, to which the Dignity of *Mufti* bears no manner of Relation, the Ceremony of the *Cotbat*, although as old as *Mohammedism* itself, was intirely laid aside.

Now the Origin of this Ceremony was such: *Mohammed* as Prophet and Head of his own Sect, addressed the People on the Days of their Assemblies; and that he might be the better understood, he was wont to mount an Estrade some steps higher than where the rest stood. He began with Praises to God, and particularly expatiated upon what Thanks the *Mohammedans* ought to return him, when they had gained any Advantage over their Enemies; and then opened to them the Business that was to come under their Deliberation. And in this was he imitated by the *Kalifs* his Successors, till the rise of the Family of *Ommiyah*, with the Addition only of the Praises of *Mohammed*. At the same time they communicated to the People the important Affairs of the Public; for in the beginning of *Mohammedism* the Government was not Monarchical, but the Tribes of the *Arabs*, as those of *Medina*, *Mecca*, *Basra* or *Bassora*, and some others, claimed a Share in the public Administration, which after public Prayers, as had been said, was brought upon the Carpet by the *Kalif*.

The first *Kalif*, and particularly *Ali*, who was very eloquent of Speech, affected to enrich their Discourses with all the Strains of Rhetoric and Poetry, which gave birth to the Custom of dressing them up with all

REMARKS

the Pomp of Expression, and of mixing them with Verse and Prose; many Examples of which we have in old Histories, and particularly in the History of *Emir Cond.* Moreover the *Kalifs* upon solemn Occasions, and to stir up the People by a Remembrance of their Prophet, appeared sometimes in White, when they were to pronounce the *Cotbat*; which in the Sequel gave rise to the Custom of appearing in a particular habit; and in Imitation of *Mohammed*, the *Kalif* mounted a kind of Pulpit or Gallery, called *Manbar*. But the *Empire*, shortly after, increasing to a great degree, and the *Kalif* having altered the first Form of the Government, he abolished the old Custom, and then the *Cotbat* began to be given in his Name, by the *Musti's*, the *Molla's*, and other Officers of the *Mosch's*. And now to the Praises of God, and the Elogies of *Mohammed*, they added those of the *Kalif*; and when it was pronounced for the first time after the Elevation of a new *Kalif*, the People lifted up their Hands, and put them one upon the other, which was deemed as an Oath of Allegiance; their left Hand representing that of the *Kalif*, and by the right Hand laid thereon, they signified their old Form of taking an Oath.

The *Abbasids* having deprived the Descendants of *Ommiyah*, assumed the Black Garment, and when they spoke to the People, appeared always in Black; whence those who delivered the *Cotbat* in their Name, mounted the Gallery or *Manbar* in Black, which was the Dress of the *Katebs* in all the Parts where the *Abbasids* were acknowledged Supreme, either in Temporals or Spirituals. The *Manbar* itself was hung with Black; and in this manner was it that the Ceremony was performed. On the other hand the *Fatemit* *Kalifs*, who called the *Abbasids* Heretics, kept to the white Vest, and hung the *Manbar* with a White Carpet, because white was the Colour of *Ali*, whose Sectaries still wear white Vests, or Sashes, as we saw in the Ambassador of *Morocco* and his Train, who were of that Sect. Ever after then that the *Kalif* gave over his Function, he delegated it to the Doctors, the Men of the Law, or Dervises, nor could it be canonically done without a Mission from the Prince.

After

After all this, the Reader will perceive why our *Arabs* were in some sort astonished that the Merchants of *Irak* who traded with *China*, could bear to hear a private Man go through the *Cotbat* or Sermon, in the Name of the *Kalif*. For this Man had no Mission, he was no Doctor or Lawyer, and it must have seemed still more extraordinary to *Mohammedans*, that such a Ceremony should be allowed in *China*, which, to their way of thinking, seemed to erect the Spiritual and Temporal Authority of the *Kalif* in the Country where it was used.

Four Great Kings, &c.

[R]

The Dialogue in the Second Part clears up what is here said, concerning the Account the *Chinese* made of Foreign Princes. We must not wonder that our two Authors, being *Arabs*, should give the *Kalif* the the first Place; but in so doing we must not tax them with Prejudice or Presumption, for, in reality, the *Mohammedan* Empire was then at its height. *Aaron Rashid*, known in our History by the Name and Title of *Aaron* King of *Persia*, taking Advantage of the Victories of his Ancestors, the first *Kalifs* of the Family of *Abbas*, had made himself Master of all *Asia*, from *Romania* to the *Transaxane*; and the Moors of *Afric*, *Spain*, and the *Mediterranean* Islands were Subject to him. In all this vast Tract, each way, the *Cotbat* was pronounced in his Name, and the Money was all coined with his Stamp; and about his Reign it was that the *Arabs* made their first Appearance in *China*. The *Mohammedans* of those Days were not only considerable for their Power and their Treasures heaped together from the Spoils of all the East, they excelled in the Sciences and the fine Arts; and their Translations of the *Greek* Books under the Patronage of and by the Encouragement of *Al-Mamun* the Son of *Aaron*, together with his Kindness to Men of Letters in general, made the Empire as great for Arts as for Arms.

But the Emperor of *China*, say they, reckoned himself the Second; this does not seem to square well with

The Balhara.

the Chinese Vanity, and we leave every one to pass his own Judgment thereon.

This Balhara is dignified Emperor of those who have their Ears bored, which is the common mode among the Indians. Most of the Arabian and Persian Geographers speak of this Prince just as our Writers do. *Abulfeda* treating of *Maabar*, which is Part of what we call *Malabar*, says, that *The Capital is three or four Days from Coulam*; and adds, that *the Mountains of this Country border upon the Land of the King of Kings, or Emperor of the Indies, call'd Ilbara*; where it is plain we must read *Balhara*. The Situations of all these Places are so very doubtful, that we can hardly even guess at them. The same Writer says elsewhere, that *The Country of Chanbalig, in its Southward extent, touches upon the Mountains of the Balhara, the King of the Kings of the Indies*. This Passage may be illustrated by our Author, who says, that *The Country under the Balhara reaches by Land from the Coast called Kamkam, to the Frontiers of China*. The *Arabian Geography* relates, that the Seat of this Prince is at *Nabalwanab* or *Nehalwarah*, a City which according to the Tables of *Nassir Eddin* and *Ulug Beig*, is in the Longitude of 102 Degrees 30 Minutes, and the Latitude of 22, and therefore can have been neither *Calicut*, nor *Cochin*, nor *Visapor*, nor yet any that have been in Reputation for several Ages last past.

P. 62.

What our Author tells us of the Power of this Prince, can seemingly square with no others than the Ancestors of the Emperor of *Calicut*, who by the Relations of the old Travellers, and as appears even by some Books of the Country, which were examined by the famous Historian *John de Barros*, had been invested with the Authority of Emperor and King of Kings, over all the Indian Princes.

The Commendations our Authors bestow on the *Balhara* for being particularly kind to the *Arabs*, suits very naturally with these Princes; the last of whom, *Sarama Payrimal*, became a *Mohammedan*, and took Shipping to go and end his Days at *Mecca*.

The *Portuguese* Histories relate, that this Prince or Emperor of the *Indies*, translated himself to *Calicut*, for the convenience of the *Pepper Trade*: It is therefore probable

probable that before he settled at *Calicut*, he resided somewhere in *Guzarat*, or in the neighbouring and more Northern Country; and so the Mountains of the Kingdom of the *Balbara*, or the *Cordillere* which runs all along *Malabar*, would have reached the Country of *Chanbalig*, that is, the Frontiers of *Turkestan*, then in the hands of the *Tartars*, as well as of a part of *China*; and hence *Abulfeda* calls them the County of *Chanbalig*.

By the first Relation or Account, we learn that the Country of the *Balbara* begins upon the Coast of the Province of *Kamkam*, which may give Strength to the foregoing Conjectures. For as *Barros* affirms; *All the Coasts which we reckon from the Mountain de Gate, and which is but a long narrow Slip, is called Concan; and the People are properly called Conquenis, altho' we call them, says he, Canaris; and the other Land which lies within de Gate, stretching Eastward, is the Kingdom of Decan, and the Inhabitants are Decanis.* So *Concan*, or *Kamkam*, which is the same thing, must have been the Province where formerly the *Balbara* or Emperor of the *Indies* kept his Court, before he removed to *Calicut*; and this is confirmed by a *Persian* Geographer, who speaking of *Kamkam*, says it is the Pepper Country.

Dec. 1. 1. 91

c. 1.

Notwithstanding it is no easy Matter to point out the City of his Residence, yet by the Tables of *Nassir Eddin* and *Ulug-Beig*, which place it in 22 Degrees of Latitude, we may conceive that this City was at the Entrance of the Gulf of *Cambaya*, and that it was to all Appearance the ancient *Barygaza*; for *Arrian*, says, *Near this City the Continent stretched down Southerly wherefore it was called Dakinabades; for Dakan, in the Language of the Country, signifies South.* Thus according to the Moderns, *Decan* begins from the Coast called *Concan* or *Kamkam*; so according to the Ancients, the same *Decan* began from the most famous Scale, which was *Barygaza*. The Conformity of *Dakin* and *Decan* is self-evident, and the word *Abud*, with which *Arrian* terminates his Greek Name, signifies, moreover, a Country or inhabited Place, and is annexed to the Names of a great many Towns, as *πολις* in Greek, *Burg* in German, and *Ton* in English. *Concan* according to *Teixeira*, begins from *Chaul*, and he says that *Visapour* is the Capital of that Province,

μτ δ βα-
εργαζα
δεως η
Cυναρης
ηπειρεν
τη βορειν
eis δ νοτον
παρεκλει-
νε, διδ η
δαχινα-
Cαδης κα-
λει η
χωρα δα-
χαυη
καλει η
νοτον τη
αυτη

Al- γλώσσῃ

All this seems to evince that this Title of *Balhara* can be given to no other than the ancient *Samorin* or Emperor of the *Indies*, who resided at *Calicut* six hundred Years and more before the *Portuguese* arrived in those Parts. And it is very likely that those Princes, who from the very first were so kind to the *Arabs*, were the very same who brought them into Credit in the Kingdom, and suffered them to settle there. In History we do not read of any Settlement of the *Mohammedans* in these Parts before that of *Calicut*, from whence they spread to all the trading Cities in *India*: therefore till we meet with some History of the Country to afford us better Instruction upon this head, we may stick to this Conjecture.

The Kingdoms or Provinces of *Girax* or *Harax*, of *Tafek*, of the *Mouga*, of the *Mabed* or *Mayed*, as the *Arabian Geographer* writes them, must be somewhere on the Continent between *Cape Comorin* and *China*. It is well known that the Names of these Countries, as they stand with us, have been for the most part corrupted; and that they are hard to be expressed in *Arabian Characters*: It were then almost to no purpose to enter upon a number of Conjectures, which, at the best, must be very doubtful, from the little we know of the History of these Parts, and the great Revolutions which may have happened after the *Mohammedans* got good footing there. For being valorous, industrious, covetous, and great Meddlers, they have always fomented Disorders here, during which they have carved out for themselves by the utter ruin of the Princes, or by persuading them to embrace *Mohammedism* for Reasons of State.

Before we close up these Remarks, we will add that the *Thatarian Drachms*, mentioned by our Author, are not quite unknown; but we must take heed, lest, deceived by the Affinity of the Names, we imagine they are *Drachms*, or Pieces of Money of *Tartary*. For *Tatar*, which is the genuin Name of *Tartar*, is spelt with a *T*, and the other by two *Tb*. These Pieces then may have been the ancient Coin of the Country, upon which the *Arabs* gained by the course of Exchange: or perhaps they were some of those old Pieces mentioned by *Arrian* to have been current at *Barygaza*: At *Barygaza*, says he, they have old *Drachms* with *Greek Letters* and the

Names

Ἀφ' ἧ μέ-
χειν ὡς ἐν
βαρυγάζ-
ζοις πα-
λαιαὶ περ-
χωρεῖσι
δραχμαὶ
γραμμά-
σιν ἐλλήνι-
κοῖς ἔσκε-
χάραγ-
μέναι ἐπί-
σημα ὅτι
μὴ Ἀλέξ-
ανδρον βα-
σιλεῖα
κόνων Ἀ-
πολλοδοτῆ
καὶ Μετάν-
δρου.

On the Foregoing Accounts.

27

Names of Apollodotus and Menander, who reigned there after Alexander.

If he will submit to a Proof by Fire.

[S]

The same was for many Ages a Custom all over the greatest part of Europe, excepting Italy, where the Authority of the Popes, who never countenanced this Practice, prevented it from getting Ground. Upon this head you may consult the Passages and ancient Formularies, cited by Furel in his Notes upon *Yves de Chartres*, and several others in Monsieur Du Cange, on the words *Ferum Candens* and *Judicium Dei*; together with some others in use with our Ancestors to denote this Practice. And so far was it from being thought a Superstition, that it was incorporated into the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, and had peculiar Masses and Prayers to itself, whether the Tryal was to be by red-hot Iron, or Water, scalding or cold.

It has been observed that this way of Tryal was known to the Ancients, since *Sophocles* mentions it; but it is more extraordinary that it should obtain among such barbarous Nations, as most of the *Indians* are, as also as the *Cafres* of the Coast of *Mosambique*, who according to *Joam dos Santos* (*) oblige those they suspect of some capital Crime to swallow Poison, to lick a red-hot Iron,

In Anti-gon. v. 274.

(*) *Ao Segundo juramento chamao os Cafres juramento de Xoqua, que o ferro de hua enxo metido no fogo, E depois de estar muy Vermelho, E abrasado, o tirao do fogo com hua tenaz, E o chengao a boca do que ha de jurar, disendolhe que lamba com a lingoa o ferro Vermelho, porque se nano tem a culpa que lhe attribuem, ficara saõ E salvo do fogo, sem lhe queimar a lingoa, nem os beiços: Mas que se tem culpa, logo lhe pegara o fogo na lingoa, beiços E rosto, E lho queimara. Iste juramento he mais ordinario E usao muytas vezes delle nao somente os Cafres, mas tambem os Mouros que nestas partes habitao, E o que peor he, que tambem alguns Christaos derao ja este juramento a seus escravos, sobra furtos que sospeitavao teremhe feytos. l. 1. c. 11. p. 17.*

“ or

or to drink boiling Water in which have been previously steeped bitter Herbs, and which they cannot get down if they are guilty, but which they easily toss off if they are innocent. This is so extraordinary a Fact, that the Words of the Author himself, as to the second Method of Proof, may fairly claim a place here.

Lete de Ethiopia Oriental. c. 11. p. 17.

“ The second Oath, which the *Cafres* called *Xoqua*, is performed after this Manner: They take the Iron of a Hoe, which they put into a Fire and make it red-hot, and being all on fire and red-hot, they take it out with a Pair of Pinchers, and hold it to the Mouth of the Person who is to swear. They command him to lick the red-hot Iron, for that if he is innocent of what is laid to his charge the Fire will not hurt him; that it will neither burn his Tongue nor Lips; but that if he is guilty, it will set fire to his Tongue, his Lips, and his Face. This is the most usual form of swearing, and not only the *Cafres* use it, but the Moors also of the Country: And what is worse, the Christians have already administered the same to some of their Slaves suspected of Theft.

Apud Purchas,
2. p. 983.

The Negroes of *Loango* and many others on the Coast of *Afric* have another Proof, by Water tinged with a certain Root which makes it as bitter as Soot, as we are told by *Andrew Battle*, in his Account of *Angola*; where also the use of red-hot Iron is common, as also that of the Pot charmed and filled with Salt, among some other Negroes of *Guinea*. The *Siamese* have Proofs of the same kind, if we believe *Schouten*; as walking upon burning Coals, swallowing enchanted Rice, besides that of keeping a long time under Water.

P. 30.

P. 307.

Odoardo Barbosa relates that the *Indians* of *Calicut* have a Proof with Oil, or boiling Butter, into which they dip the Fingers of the Party accused: This done they bind them up for Examination on the third Day, and if they are scalded they kill him, but if there is no Sign of heat they put to death the Accuser. *Nicolo di Conti* writes to the same purpose, as well concerning this and the Custom of licking or else handling of red-hot Iron, as concerning what is commonly practised among all the *Indians* in general.

P. 344.

In Sarandib, when the King dies.

[T]

The Author of the *Arabian Geography*, who has al-
most these very Words, says this was a Custom all over
the *Indies*. Most of the Eastern Geographers, *Kazwini*, *Edit. Lat.*
Ebn Wardi, and others, say the same.

The Manners of the Chinese.

[V]

The Chinese are fond of Gaming.] The *Arabic Word*
signifies not only *Gaming*, but every other sort of Di-
version; it may even be extended to *Comedies* and *Shews*
which the *Chinese* are so pleased with, as well as the
Tonquinese, the *Cochinchinese*, and some other neighbour-
ing Nations.

[X]

They love not *Wine* because they have none, and
because their *Extraction of Rice*, their *Tea* or *Chaw*,
and some other *Liquors* serve them instead of *Wine*. The
Mohammedans, who abstained therefrom, out of a Prin-
ciple of *Devotion*, could not fail to make this Remark
as well as some others, which referred to their own Cus-
toms. Hence is it our Authors take notice, that
the *Chinese* did not circumcise; that they washed not af-
ter the manner of the *Arabs*; that they killed not their
Meat by cutting the Throat, that the Blood might
drain off; all which the *Mohammedans* most strictly ob-
serve.

Debauchery is at this Day very prevalent in *China*,
not only as to *Women*, *Polygamy* and the Numbers of
common *Prostitutes*, but also as to the abominable Vice,
so much practised among the *Bonzes*. In the *Dutch Em-
bassy* you have a Representation of their public *Wo-
men* as they are led about the Town veiled and upon
an *Ass*; they are many in Number. *Father Martini*
relates, that the *Women* sold themselves openly at *Yang-
cheu*. Debauchery runs to a great height in *Vancheu*,
where they without Shame gratify the Rage of their

*Fath. Gru-
ber's Ac-
coun, p. 7.
9. Atl.
Lust.*
129. p. 31.

Lust, *Navarette* (*) informs us that Sodomy was punished formerly, and that those guilty of it were sent to serve in the Garrison of the great Wall.

REMARKS

ON THE

SECOND ACCOUNT.

[X] *The Ocean has a Communication with the Mediterranean.*

A Bu Zeid observes it as a new and very extraordinary thing, that a Ship should be driven from the *Indian Sea* to the Coast of *Syria*. To find out this Passage into the *Mediterranean*, he supposes there may be a great Extent of Sea above *China*, which has Communication with the Sea of *Chozars* or of *Moscovy*. The Sea beyond *Cape Currents*, on the East Coast of *Africa*, was perfectly unknown to the *Arabs*, who did not dare to venture upon so unfavorable a Navigation; and besides the Continent that way was inhabited by such Savage Nations, that it would been a Task of great Labour to have reclaimed them from their Brutality, or to

(*) Como aca condenan a Oran, y Galeras, condenave el Chino al muro. El pecado de Sodomia tenia este pena: Tambien pero si todos los que tienen este vicio la huvieran de pagar: juzgo quedaria des poblada la China, y el muro con demasiada guarnicion. He mentions it again in the Seventh Chapter of the Second Treatise, where he says that, En tiempo que reynava el Chino, avia tambien en la corte de Pequín casa publica de muchachos; quitola el Tartaro, oy la ay en la ciudad de Jangchen.

have

have civilized them by the Intercourse of Commerce. The Portuguese found no Moorish Settlement on all the Coast, from the Cape of Good Hope to Sofala; as they did afterwards in all the other Maritime Towns quite to China. This City was the last their Geographers were acquainted with to the Southward, and they did not know that this Sea had Communication with that of Barbary round the Southermost Part of *Afric*; and accordingly they described no farther than the Coast of Zinge or that of the *Casrery*. Therefore we cannot doubt but the first Discovery of the Passage into the Indian Ocean, by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, was made by the Europeans under the Conduct of *Vasquez de Gama*, or at least some Years before he doubled the Cape, if true it be, as is said, That Sea Charts have had the Cape by the Name of *Fronteira de Africa*, before that celebrated Voyage was undertaken. *Antonio Galvam*, relates from *Francisco de Sousa Tavares*, That in the Year M D XXVIII. the Infant *Dom Fernand* shewed him, the said *Tavares*, such a Chart, which was in the Monastery of *Alcobaca*, and had been drawn 120 Years; perhaps from that said to be at *Venice* in the Treasury of *St. Mark*, which is thought to have been copied from that of *Marco Polo*, which has the Point or Promontory of *Afric*, if *Ramusio* be right.

The Arabs knew no more of *Japan*, which they called *Sila*, than they learned from the Chinese, since by the Testimony of the oldest of our two Authors, no Arab had yet set foot there in the Year of the *Hejra* 60 xxx.

The Metempsychosis.

[Y]

This is very generally held among the Chinese. Their Histories say that one *Xekia* or *Shokia* an Indian Philosopher, who was about a thousand Years before Christ, was the first that taught this Doctrine of Transmigration; and our Authors add that the Chinese had it from the Indians. It over-ran China in the Year of Christ, Lxv. and the Chiefs of this Sect have to this Day their Abode on or near the Mountain *Tientai*, in the Province of *Chekiang*. This *Xekia*, according to the Chinese Tradition,

Martin.
Hist. Si-
nar. p. 109.

- Atl. p. 93.* dition in *Navarratte*, has been born eight thousand times over, the last time, in the Form of a white Elephant. It is he that was called *Fobee*, after his Apotheosis. The Sect of *Xekia*, says the same Father *Martini*, hold the *Metempsychosis*; but this Sect is divided into two Branches; the one believing the exterior *Metempsychosis*, or that the Souls of Men pass after Death into other Bodies, and these worship Idols, and abstain from every thing that has Life; while the other Sect has faith in an interior *Metempsychosis*, which is the principal Foundation of their Morality, which consists in suppressing the Passions, which are as so many different Animals proceeding from Man: But neither the one nor the other expect Rewards, or dread Punishments in a Life to come. Father *Trigaut* acquaints us, that the *Chinese* have upon this Head some Notions not very unlike those of the *Pythagoricians*. Father *Grueber* avers that all the *Chinese* are Idolaters at Heart, and that in private they all worship Idols: That true it is they seem to be divided into three Sects; but that even their Sect of *Literati*, who profess to adore a superior Substance which they call *Xan-ti*, have these words written in Gold in all their Temples, and adulate them with Offerings of Paper, Wax Tapers, and Incense, purely by this form to distinguish themselves from other Sects, and particularly the *Bonzes*. These, says he, came from the *Indies* into *China*, and it is impossible to conceive what Veneration and Esteem was paid them on account of their Doctrine of the transmigration of Souls, altho' it differed somewhat from what was taught by the *Pythagoricians*. In a word, all the Authors who have written concerning *China*, agree with these. The *Indians* believed and to this day believe the *Metempsychosis* differently from the *Pythagoricians*; and the *Arabs*, before *Mohammedism*, taught it after a particular manner, as Dr. *Pocock* will satisfy you. The *Chinese* will have it, that the Doctrine of *Fe* or the *Metempsychosis*, came from *Kieo* in *Junnan*: but whence soever it came, it is thereto owing, that they often murder their Children, when they think they cannot maintain them, and that they butcher them with so little Regret.
- In Abul- farg. p. 135.*
Atl. 198.
Trig. l. 1. 94.
M. Polo. l. c. 26.

Men who devote themselves.

[Z]

The Portuguese Histories sufficiently abound with Examples of Men who have devoted themselves to certain Death upon great Occasions; and this the Portuguese, in their Histories, term *Fazer se Amoucos*. It is a Custom of very ancient Date; witness the *Ambacti* and *Soludurii* among the *Gauls*, who engaged to die with their King, as *Cæsar* and *Athenæus* will inform you.

The Inhabitants of *Ceylon* would do the same, and a Number of Persons of Quality, stiled *Faithful to the King in this World and the next*, were wont, as *Marco Polo* says, to burn themselves when he died. *Odoarda Barbosa* observed the same in the *Indies*, particularly among the *Nairès*, who having engaged themselves in the Pay of the King, or some great Lord, would, if he died, or fell in Battle, seek Death by revenging his Fall, or lay violent Hands upon themselves to bear him Company.

L. 3. c. 20.
p. 302.
Ram. T. 2.
p. 307. de
Id. T. 1.
p. 330.

When the King of *Tonquin* dies, many of the Lords of his Court consent to be buried alive with him; but for an ample Account of what the *Tonquinese* observe upon these Occasions, consult *M. Tavernier*.

Indians who burn themselves.

[AA]

This is an ancient and universal Custom in the *Indies*, where it has taken such deep root, that it subsists to this Day. All Accounts, both ancient and modern, confirm this, and agree with what the *Greeks* and the *Latins* have written upon the same Subject. However it is but seldom now, that Men burn themselves deliberately; and it is a long while since any *Bramin* has followed the Example of *Calanus*, and some other old Philosophers, who, being sick of Life, committed themselves to the Flames: But it is still common for the Women to burn themselves with their deceased Husbands. And altho' the *Mohammedans*, at present Masters of a great part of the *Indies*, where this Custom chiefly obtains, endeavour all they can to suppress it, they have hitherto wrought in vain to eradicate this cruel Superstition so much preached up by *Brahmins*.

Pietro Al-
varez in
Ram. p.
120. Bar-
thema l. 3.
c. 10. Bar-
bosa p.
302.

P. 9.

L. 3. c. 13.

The Processions our Author describes, are still the same when Women burn themselves; but as formerly those who burned themselves behaved with great Courage, Resolution, and apparent Contempt of Death in all Respects, the Custom is now to alleviate the Pain, and dispatch the Women by an extraordinary Fire. Our most famous Travellers have often beheld this terrible Sight in the *Indies*, and some of them have describ'd it, as *Bernier*, *Tavernier*, and others. *Teixeira*, when he was in the *Indies*, saw four hundred Wives and Concubines of the *Naique* of *Madura*, burn themselves along with his dead Body. *Marco Polo* mentions a Custom of some of the *Indians*, who, being sentenced to die, kill themselves in honour of their Idols, and are afterwards burnt.

[BB]

The Indians have their Doctors.

Geogr. N.
361.

Dec. 4. L.
9 c. 9.

The Name *Bramin* is formed from that of *Brachman*; which was used by the *Greeks* and *Latins* to signify the *Indian Philosophers*, who are much mentioned in the *Arabian Writings*. Our Author reports, that there was a great Number of them at *Kanuge*, a City, which, according to *Abulfeda*, is in 131, that is 141 Degrees 50 Minutes of Longitude, and in 29 or 27 Degrees of Latitude. It stands between two Branches of the *Ganges*, Eastward of *Multan*, in the furthest Parts of the *Indies*, and is distant from this said Town of *Multan* about CCLXXXI Leagues, if *Alazizi* be right. The King here has two thousand five hundred Elephants; and the City is handsome, large, and a great Mart, like *Kabira* or *Cairo* in *Egypt*. The King himself is called *Kanuge*, and has many Mines of Gold in his Country, as is confirmed by the *Persian Geographer*. The *Indian Histories* make mention of the City of *Canose*; and *Barros* relates that it is near the Place where the *Ganges* meets the *Gemna*. But the ordinary Residence of the *Bramins*, and the University, as we may say, of all the *Indian Doctors*, is *Benares*, or, as others pronounce it, *Banarus*, or as it is called in the Tables of *Ulug Beig* and *Nassir Eddin*, *Banarsf*. *Bernier Tavernier*, and the best Travellers dwell much on this Place. *Kanuge*, or *Kennaug*, is, in the abovementioned Tables marked for the Seat of the King of

On the Foregoing Accounts:

35

of the King of the *Indies*, but is there placed in the 116th Degree of Longitude, and the 27th of Latitude, which it is impossible to reconcile with the Positions of *Abulfeda*.

All Histories and Accounts are full of what regards the penitent Life and Austerities of the *Fakirs*.

Caravansera's built by Devotion.

[CC]

There are many Foundations of this sort in the *Indies*, as well as in *Turky*, *Persia* and *Mogulistan*, nor to mention the many Hospitals in the *Indies* for sick Animals. *Thevenot* observes, that the Charity of the *Indians* of *Cabul* consists in digging of Pits, or sinking of Wells, and in erecting a Number of small Receptacles on the Highways for the Accommodation of Travellers:

T. 3. p. 69.

The Custom of Cock-Fighting.

[DD]

This is remarked by *Nicolo di Conti*, in his Recital of the Manners of the *Javans*.

" Their most common Diversion is Cock-fighting.
" They have many sorts of Cocks, which they carry
" about with them in hopes of a Prize. They bet upon
" their Cock and he whose Cock has the better, carries
" off the Wager.*

The Cavalier *Pigafetta* says the same of the Inhabitants of *Pulova*, and others of the *Molucca's*. *John Davis* and *James Lancaster* observed the same at *Achem*, as appears by their Accounts in *Purchas*, Vol. 1. p. 132 and 156.

p. 361.

Public Women in the Pagods.

[EE]

This infamous Practice is of old standing in the East. *Herodotus* has a Story of this kind of the Women who prostituted themselves in Honour of *Mylitta*, who by the Analogy of the *Chaldee*, must have been *Venus*; and the

L. 1. c.
131.

(*) *Il giuoco piu usato da loro, e di far combattere i galli, e cosi ve ne portano de piu sorti, ciascuno sperando che il suo resti vincitore. Fanno infra di loro delle scommesse sopra questi combattenti, E il gallo che resta superiore fa vincor li dinari.*

- L. 2. c. 38.* Tents or Tabernacles of these Women were much like those describ'd by our Author. In *Marco Polo*, we read that the People of the Province of *Cainda* did the same thing; exposing their Women in honour of their Idols.
- T. 2. l. 2, 5.* *Tavernier* speaks of a Pagod near *Cambaya*, whither most of the Courtezans of the *Indies* repair to make their Offerings: And adds, that old Women, who have scraped together a Sum of Money, buy young female Slaves, whom they train up to wanton Songs and Dances, and all the Allurements of their infamous Calling: And that when these Girls have attained their eleventh or twelfth Year, their Mistresses conduct them to this Pagod, under a Notion that it is a Happiness for them to be offered, and delivered up to the Idol.

- Again, we are told by *Marco Polo*, that there was a like Custom in the Province of *Camul*, where it was prohibited by *Mangu Khan*, whose Command was obeyed for three Years; but observing that their Lands did not produce as usual, they, at the Expiration of the aforesaid Term, sent Deputies to *Mangu Khan* to represent to him,
- L. 3. c. 23.* *Che da poi che mancavano di far questi piaceri & elemosyne verso forastieri, le loro case andavano di mal in peggio.* The same Author, in another Place, speaks of certain *Indians*, who offer their Children to Idols, and go into their Temples stark naked. *Barbosa* tells of Numbers of Prostitutes, who took up their abode in Pagods; and adds, That, in *Tibet* the Custom is never to marry a Female who has not been exposed to some one, but especially to foreign Merchants. *L. 2. c. 37.*
- p. 302.*

[FF]

The Idol of Multan.

- Abulf. n. 450.* This Idol must be very old, and, perhaps, gave name to the City and Country so called, which is a part of the Province of *Sind*. The Capital is, according to *Abulfeda*, in 92 Degrees of Longitude, and 29 Degrees 40 Minutes of Latitude. According to *Ebn Haukal* it is twelve Days distant from *Almansur*, which is a greater Distance than is allow'd by our Author. *Abulfeda* speaks of this Idol, and says it is dressed in red Leather, and has two great Pearls for Eyes. The *Emir* who was Lord of this City, in the Days of *Abulfeda*, received the Offerings

erings of the *Indians*, who resorted hither in Pilgrimage from the remotest Parts. This Idol is described just after the same manner in *Thevenot's* last Voyage.

P. 163.

The Island of Socotra.

[GG]

This Story is told, in almost the same Words, in the *Arabian Geography* printed at *Rome*, as also in almost all the Oriental Geographers. They all imagine that the Discovery of the Isle of *Aloes*, is one of the greatest Incidents of *Alexander's* Progress; and this they imagine from the great Account they make of this Drug, which is one of the first Ingredients in their *Materia Medica*. You may see what is said of it by *Ebn Sina*, or *Avicen*, as we call him, and by the other *Arabian* Physicians, and, among the Moderns, by *Garcias de Orta*, and some others it were needless to cite.

Marco Polo relates of this Island, that its Inhabitants were Christians, and that they had an Archbishop under a *Zatolic*, who resided at *Bagdad*; that is, a *Catholico* or Patriarch of the *Nestorians*. For the *Arabs* writing Catholic with an aspirated Letter, which is of the same Power with our *J* consonant or *G*, were it not for a Point underneath, many have spelt it *Jatolic*; whence *Marco Polo*, who was a *Venetian*, forms his *Zatolic*, pronouncing the *G* or *J* after the manner of his Country.

L. 3. c. 34.

The *Portuguese* Authors, on the contrary, will have them to be *Jacobites*, or subject to the schismatical Patriarchs of *Antioch* or *Alexandria*. When the *Portuguese* first came to this Island, the Inhabitants appeared to them with Crosses in their Hands, to shew they were Christians: But *Odoardo Barbosa* says, that, in his time, they had hardly any Notion of Baptism, and that they had nothing left to distinguish them as Christians but the bare Name.

Barros,
Dec. 2. l. 1.

c. 3. *Purch*.
p. 778.

P. 292.

They have the Sonna in Arabic.

[HH]

We do not see how this Passage can be otherwise understood, tho' the Translators of the *Arabian Geographer*, who has copied it, understand it in a different Sense, because the Text is mangled a little:

Dedit enim in ipsa natio quædam Arabum, qui diversis & antiquis utuntur linguis, Arabibus hac nostra tempestate ignotis. Thus is it the Maronites translate this Passage, wherein they are confessedly mistaken. For this Passage does not relate to two small Islands, but to that *Arabia* by the Ancients called *Libanophoros*, by the *Arabs* themselves *Shibr*, and by *Ptolomey* Σοχοε, where dwelt the old *Arabian* Tribes, *Ad*, *Hamyar*, *Jorham*, and *Thabateba*, who embraced *Mohammedism*. These *Arabs* had, besides the *Koran*, many Stories and Traditions touching the *Mohammedan* Religion, which they received from the Companions of their Prophet, and his Disciples. From these Traditions and Stories, they form the Body of their *Sonna*, which therefore is very different in different Places; so that not only the *Sonna* of the *Persians* differs from that of the *Arabians*, but that of the *Africans* varies from that of *Mecca* and the *Arabians* of the *Desart*. From this Variety a Number of Sects have arisen in the *Mohammedan* Profession; and these Sects have divided *Mohammedism*, and introduced several Variations in the Exposition of their *Koran*, and in their Jurisprudence. The Tradition of the old *Arabs* was the most authentic, and could not be mixed with so much Novelty and foreign matter as the Tradition of other Countries, where it was multiplied World without end.

This was the fundamental Principle of the Science the *Fakis* or *Arabian* Doctors professed. *Ebn Kalican* relates, in the Life of one of the most famous of them, *Abu Yacub Isaac*, the Disciple of *Kasei*, and the Head of one of their Sect; That he boasted of knowing by heart seventy thousand *Hadith*, or Stories, concerning *Mohammed* and his first Companions, and a hundred thousand others of less importance on the same Subject. They cite them in their Books with the Names of their Authors, and the Names of those these had them from, quite up to the first, as the *Jews* do in the *Talmud*.

We must not wonder therefore, if the Tradition was different from the Vulgar contained in the *Sonna* among the *Arabians* of the conquered Countries. In those Countries there are still old Copies of the *Sonna*, which are so different from the modern, that they have scarce any thing in common with them.

ON THE
HISTORY and CUSTOMS of
C H I N A.

FEW Eastern Writers have written worthily of *China*, although most of them are fond of dwelling thereon. But what they write is so confused, so inaccurate, and so stuffed with Fable that it is easy to see they knew next to nothing of the Situation and Remarkables of that Empire. The *Greek* and *Latin* Geographers, whom the *Arabs* perused in faulty Translations, could lend them no helping Hand in this Part of *Asia*, which was but little known to the Ancients; and our two Authors are, perhaps, the first that have written tolerably on this Head. By the Passages the *Nubian Geographer* copies from them, without naming them, it appears that in his Time there were no Memoirs of more Value for what concerned *China*; and if the other Geographers have made but little use of them, it is, seemingly, because they thought them Fabulous, as *Abulfeda* declares he did, in several Places. The Accounts of the late Travellers, and particularly those of Father *Trigaut*, and Father *Semedo*, and the several Tracts of Father *Martini* have more amply instructed us in the Geography, Natural History, Manners, and Customs of *China*, than all that had been written before. But as for the Illustration of History, it may be proper to compare the Ancient Accounts with the Modern, just as Father *Martini* has in many Places explained *Marco Polo*, whom the Ignorance of past times rejected as a Fabulist; it may be as proper to shew that our two Authors so often agree with our late Writers, that they for that Reason are to be had in particular Veneration, and especially as they went four hundred Year or more before *Marco Polo*, and our other

Atlas Sin.

earliest Travellers: And it will be perceived by the following Remarks, that, some Points excepted, which still want illustration, they abound with very judicious Observations, and such as are perfectly consonant with our latest Informations.

It were to no purpose to undertake a Justification of the lesser Circumstances to be found in our Authors, by a great Number of Citations. They may have been mistaken in some things, which new Discoveries may clear-up hereafter; but if they sometimes happen to vary from the Modern Accounts, we must not at once conclude they are wrong; for *China*, as well as every other State, has been subject to great Revolutions, which must have wrought great Changes in the Government and the Customs; and perhaps the more we shall come to the Knowledge of the *Chinese* History, the more we shall be convinced of the Accuracy of the old Travellers.

*The Name
of China.*

Let us first examine into what our two Authors say of the Country in general. It seems they knew it by the Name of *Sin*, which the *Arabs* borrowed from *Ptolemy*. Thus it is that *Ebn Said*, *Yacâti*, *Abulfeda*, and most of the Eastern Geographers call this Empire. The *Persians*, however, pronounce it *Tchin*, much like the *Italians* and *Portuguese*; a Name which may have been imposed by Strangers, either because the *Chinese* in their Salute say, *Chin Chin*, or *Ching Ching*, or from the Emperors of the Family of *China* as Father *Martini* thinks.

*Navar.
l. 1.*

P. 1,

Father *Aleni* the Jesuit says, that in a *Chinese* Book cited by *Navarette*, *China* signifies the Country of Silk; while others will have it that *China* signifies to observe the South; and the Merchants coming in from that Quarter, may also have given Birth to this Name; at least we may assure our selves it is of old Date among the *Arabs*. The Name of *Cathay*, which is also much used, did properly belong to the most Western Parts of *China*, and probably derives it Origen from those *Scythians* beyond Mount *Imaus*, whom the *Greeks* called *Xai*, Father *Trigaut*, Father *Martini*, and, in a Word, *Golijs*, have evidently demonstrated, that the *Catai* of *Marco Polo*, and our ancient Travellers must not be sought for out of *China*: But they have not

*Lucen. l.
10. c. 3.*

*Appendix
ad Atlant.
Sin,*

suffi.

sufficiently explained this Distinction; and what *Golius* offers as a Proof (*viz.*) that *Misk Catai*, and *Tcha Catai*, signify Musk and Tea of *China*, makes good this Remark, since Musk comes from *Tibet* and the adjoining Provinces, and Tea also. But we do not find that the *Arabians* and *Persians* gave the Name of *Cathay* to the Southern Provinces; yet, certain it is that all they report of the Magnificence of the *Khan* of *Cathay*, must be understood of the Emperor of *China*, and that the *Cambalu* or *Chanbalig* of the Orientals, can be no other than *Pekin*: And here let it be observed, that these Forms of Speech came from *Persia*, and the Provinces of the Upper *Asia*, conterminous with *China*; and that this Name was peculiar to the Western and Northern Provinces only, which alone were conquered by *Jenghiz Khan*, the Emperor of the *Moguls*.

At the same time it may be pertinent to take notice that *Vossius* is quite mistaken, when, with his usual Confidence, he is sure the *Portuguese* were the first that called the Country *China*, which he will have to be the ancient *Serica*, and that the *Chinese* should be called *Seres*, as he always calls them. For the *Portuguese* were unacquainted with *China*, till the sixteenth Century, and our *Arabian* Travellers wrote in the Ninth; and yet we must not suppose they were the Authors of this Name, which was in use long before them. The Appellation of *Seres* is equally unknown to the *Chinese*, the *Arabs*, and the *Persians*, nor is it an easy matter to prove that it bears any Relation to the Inhabitants of *China* properly so called, since *Ptolemy* distinguishes the *Seres* from the *Chinese*, whom he calls *Sivai*.

It seems our Authors were but slenderly informed of the Limits of *China*, since they confine themselves to the Sea-port where the Merchants traded, the Capital of the Empire, and the Provinces next to the Kingdom of *Samarkand*. They say that the *Sogd* of *Samarkand* is but about a two Months Journey from it, which squares with the Tables of *Abulfeda*, and the Author he cites, of *Ulug Beig*, and some others. They observe that the Kingdom of *Tibat*, *Tobit*, or *Tobat*, for so the *Arabs* pronounce it, is not far distant from the
said

said Provinces; and the County of *Tagaxax*, or *Tahaxax*, if this Name is not corrupted, is conterminous therewith, on the East. By this Word we might be induced to think that we are to understand the People of *Laos*. Those called *Mabed*, *Mujet*, and some others mentioned in the one and the other Account, must be placed between *Tibet* and *Bengal*; but it is a hard matter to know them again in a strange Tongue, and after such great Revolutions, whose History we know not.

What our Author relates of the Number of Cities in *China* is consonant with the Reports of the late Travellers; for our *Arabs* say, that in *China* there are above two hundred Cities, which have many others subordinate to them. Now, Father *Trigaut* reckons two hundred forty seven; Father *Martini* says, one hundred and fifty; and *Navarette* reduces the Number to one hundred forty eight of the first Order; but it is no difficult matter to believe that the Number of these Capitals may have increased and decreased according to the different Alterations which have happened in this Empire.

Canfu.

Canfu was the City best known to the *Arabs*, because it was the Scale of all the Commerce with the *Indies*, *Persia* and *Arabia*. The Rocks called the *Gates of China*, in our first Account, must be the Isles which lie between the Coast of *Cochinchina*, and the Mouth of *Canton River*. The *Arabs* required eight Days to steer through them, because of the Dangers they ran of miscarrying among them; a trouble they might have avoided by shaping their Course directly for the Island of *Hainan*, or *Ainam*, which is, probably, what they call *Aluian*. *Canfu* must be *Changcheu*, or *Quantung*, now commonly spelt *Canton*: *Fu* and *Cheu* are two Terminations, the first of which being added to the Name of a Place, denotes it to be a Capital City, and the second is to denote a City only. *Canfu* was but a little way from the Sea, and stood upon a great River, which Ships entered with the Tide, and this Situation agrees perfectly with that of *Canton*. This City is mentioned in the *Nubian Geographer*, but both in the Original and in the Translation the Name is very much corrupted, being written *Canaku*, and the same

N. 369.

same Inaccuracy may be observed in *Abulfeda*, who says, this City was known in his time by the Name of *Cansu*. He places it in 164 Degrees 40 Minutes of Longitude, and 28 Degrees, 30 Minutes of Latitude; and adds, that "By the Accounts of some Travellers, it is the greatest trading City in all *China*. That he had been informed by a Man who had been there, that it stands to the South-East of *Zeitun*, half a Day from the Sea, and upon the Branch of a River which forms a Canal, navigable by the largest Vessels. That it is extremely large, and that its influence surrounds four small Eminences; that they there drink Well-water; that it had very pleasant Gardens, and that it stood about two Days distant from the Mountains." By this slender Description it sufficiently appears, that this Geographer was but poorly acquainted with the Situation of the capital Cities of *China*, and most of the others speak with the same Obscurity. But our two Authors leave no room to doubt of the true Orthography of this Name, and *Abulfeda's* Conjecture cannot be borne, since, to all appearance, his City of *Cansu*, must be *Changcheu*, or some maritime City of Eminence for Trade in his time.

But it is a far more intricate Task to ascertain what place our Authors may mean when they speak of *Cumdan*, where they say the Emperor of *China* then resided. This City they so often mention, that there is no ground to imagine the Text to be corrupted; and the *Chinese* and *Syriac* Inscription, found in the Province of *Xensi* or *Chensi*, in the Year MDCXXV, confirms what they advance; for in the *Syriac* words *Cumdan* is called the Royal City, and the Capital of *China*. Now the two Cities where the Emperors have for many Ages past resided, are *Pekin* and *Nankin*; but the first which is thought to be the *Cambalu* of *Marco Polo*, and the *Chanbalig* of the Orientals, has not enjoyed this Dignity above cccc Years, or thereabouts; so that in the Days of our two Authors, *Nankin*, otherwise called *Kiangnang*, was the Capital of the Empire, and the place where the Emperors of *China* kept their Court.

Cumdan must then be *Nankin*, nor can we well doubt it, since the *Arabian Geographer*, speaking of must be the *Nankin*.

Cumdan.

China illustrated
l. 1.

the greatest River in *China*, which certainly is the *Kiang*, calls it the River of *Cumdan*, because it flows through *Nankin*, the only City that crowns that River, which had for several Ages been the Seat of the Empire. Therefore is this Town called *Nankin*, or the *Southern Court*, whereas *Pekin* signifies the *Northern Court*. The *Syrians*, who wrote the *Chinese* Inscription, we just now mentioned, have another Title for it, and call it the *Eastern Court*; and thus this City may have been stiled by the *Chinese*, and, perhaps, the different Names of *Kingling*, *Moling*, *Kianle*, *Kiangning*, *Kiangnang*, and *Ing tien*, which it has borne under different Royal Families, may import what the *Syrians* have in their Inscription: But without entering into this Labyrinth, it is easy to perceive that it was natural enough for the *Syrians* to call it the *Eastern Court*; for of all the Royal Cities in *China*, it was the most Eastward from them who came from *Syria* by the way of *Tibet*. The magnificent Descriptions our Authors give of this City can agree with no other than *Nankin*; for *Pekin* was not yet the Seat of the Emperor, and even when it was thither transferred, *Nankin* did not fade much away till the last Wars, that it was entirely sacked by the *Tartars*.

Martin.
Atlas, 129.

The Testi-
mony of
Abulfeda.

In Alfrag.
p. 75

Abulfeda inthrones the Emperor of *China* at the City of *Biju*, or *Banju*, or *Bijbu*; for this Name is so often varied in the Copies we have of this Author, who lays it down in 114, that is, 124 Degrees of Longitude, and 17 Degrees of Latitude; and adds, that it is the Residence of the *Fagfur*, who, says he, is the Emperor of *China*, otherwise called *Tumgage Khan*, that is, *Lord of the Country of Tumgage*, or *Tumgaz*; that it is an inland City, embellished with many Gardens, and that the Inhabitants have their Water from Wells; that it is some Days distant from the Sea, and five Leagues North-West of *Cansa*, and that it is encompassed with Walls, for the most part in Ruins. All this he says from the Information of a Traveller. *Goli* cannot settle upon what City this should be, and believes the Easterns may have meant *Pekin*, *Nankin*, *Quansh*, *Yamcheu*, or even *Pegu*. But the great Distance and Difference between these Cities evince, that *Ebn Said*, *Abulfeda*, and the other Authors cited by that learned Man, can have pointed at no other City than *Nankin*; not that the Positions *Abulfeda*, *Naf*
fit

fr Eddin, and *Ulug Beig* give their City of *Biju*, can be applied to *Nankin*, and even they differ among themselves, some placing it in 124 Degrees, and others in 130; but we deduce thus much from the Situation of the City, which they say is some Days distant from the Sea, and not very far from *Cansa*, which, tho' it cannot be said either of *Nankin* or *Pekin*, yet it may be more truly referred to the former than to the latter of these Cities. And this is the more to be regarded, inasmuch as some very accurate Writers have evidently demonstrated, that the *Cambalu* of *Marco Polo*, and the *Chanbalig* of the Orientals, can be no other than *Pekin*, the Position of the one and the other coinciding nicely enough.

*Gol. Ap-
pend. ad
Atlantem
Sin.*

Among all the different Names of *Nankin*, we do not find it was ever called *Cumdan*, and it is very probable that this Name is not spelt exactly by the *Chinese* Orthography: But it is enough for us that this Town was known by this Name among the Orientals; and the Conformity of the *Chinese* and *Syriac* Stone, with our two Authors, as to the Name of this City, is well worthy our Observation, and may incontestably confirm what they write.

All that our Authors report of the Magnificence of this City is agreeable to the Description of *Nankin*, in the Relations of the Fathers *Trigaut* and *Martini*.

Our Authors speak of the Government of *China* in Terms which prove them to have been no Strangers thereto; for notwithstanding the extraordinary Revolutions which have there happened within eight hundred Years past, what they say is, in its principal Circumstances, confirmed by the Testimony of the later Voyagers.

*The Go-
vernment
of China.*

They take notice that *China* was governed by an Emperor, who was supreme and absolute over all the Governors of Provinces, whom they stile Kings. The *Arabic* Word, *Malec*, which they use, does not actually import a King, according to the Sense and Meaning of those who wrote contemporarily with our Authors, or in the following times. As the first *Mohammedan* Sovereigns assumed the Title of *Kalifs*, or *Vicars of God upon Earth*, and *Successors of Mohammed*; this stile was peculiar to his Descendants, or, those who pretended so to be, in the Sequel. The *Kalif* enjoyed all Authority, both in Spirituals and Temporals, and no *Mohammedan* that created himself

into

into a Prince, and particularly after the *Abbassids*, assumed that Title free from Schism; for the *Fatemit*es of *Egypt*, and some other Princes of less Note, who presumed to take it on them, were guilty not of Defection only, but of Schism also, and were rejected as Heretics by the other *Mahommedans*. But those who adhered to the Bulk of *Mohammed's* Followers, and remained in Subjection to the *Kalif* at *Bagdad*, and who to this Day call themselves *Sonnis*, pretended to no more than the Quality of *Soltan* or Prince. *Malek* was a Surname peculiar to the Branches of the Royal Family, and was granted, as an Honour, to tributary Princes, who acknowledged either the *Kalifs* or the *Soltans*. We must not therefore wonder, that these Governors of Cities and Provinces, who ruled almost with a sovereign Sway, tho' at the same time subordinate to the Emperor, should be dignified *Maluc*, or Kings, by the *Arabs*; and especially since our later Travellers use the same Term. Thus *Marco Polo*, *Father Trigaut*, *Father Martini*, *Navarette*, and the *Dutch* not only stile the Princes of the Royal Family by the Title of Kings, but the Governors also; and both the one and the other observe with our Authors, that these petty Kings are in Subordination to the Emperor, besides that *Navarette* reports the several Provinces of *China* to have been formerly so many Kingdoms.

The *Arabs* commonly write, that the Emperor of *China* is commonly called *Bagbun*, tho', according to the most ancient of our Authors, they in his Days pronounced it *Magbun*. But others, as *Abulfeda*, and an old *Persian* Author, call him *Fagfur*, and pretend this and *Tumgax*, or *Tumgaz Khan* to be synonymous; and *Marco Polo* calls those Kings by the Name or Title of *Fansur*, who preceded the *Tartars*, under whom he went into *China*. They all agree that this Title signifies the *Son of Heaven*, and our last Accounts agree as to the Sense of this Word, but instead of it they give us another, *Tiençu*, to signify the same thing, and hence, perhaps, the *Arabs* formed their *Tumgax*, which is otherwise spelt *Timjage*, and after other ways.

We must not wonder that our two Authors tell us nothing of the Royal Family of the Emperors who reigned in their times; for we can reap no manner of Information from any other of the *Arabian* Writers, or the *Persian*, who

L. 2. c. 68.
Dutch Embassy to
China.

The Bagbun.

L. 2. c. 68.

Hist. Pers.
In MSS.

Trig. l. 6.
c. 16. Navar. l. 1.
c. 9. Mart.

who did not begin to know *China* till towards the twelfth Century, when the *Tartars* became Masters of it. But the total Revolution, mentioned in the second Account, is the more remarkable, as it squares very exactly with what we read in the Beginning of Father *Martini's Chinese Atlas*. He says, that from the Year cxxi before Christ, when the Family of *Hana* mounted the Throne, upon the Deprivation of the Family of *Cyna*; the Princes of the aforesaid Family of *Hana* reigned till the Year cclxiv after Christ; and that then the Family of *Cyna* succeeded, and held the Throne till the Year cccix of the same. Then five Kings rose up against each other, and commenced the War of the *Utai*, as it is called, which was carried on till four of these *Utai* being defeated, the fifth, of the Family of *Tunga*, seized on the Empire in the Year dcxviii. That in a short time afterwards the Empire was rent into many Factions, the Chiefs of which were called *Hentai*: And that at last the Family of *Sunga* rose to the Empire, and kept it in Possession till the Year mclxviii, when the *Tartars* quite subverted it, and then it was that *Marco Polo* entered *China*. It follows then, that in the Year ccxxvi of the *Hejra*, which is in the Year dcccvi of Christ; and that in the Year cclxiv of the former, which is the Year dcccclxxvii of the latter, and which are the two chief Dates of our Authors; the Empire of *China* was embroiled by these several Wars of the *Hentai*, and from these Factions must arise the Comparison *Abu Zeid* makes between the Division of the *Chinese* Monarchy and that of *Alexander*, which, however, happens to be as inaccurate as every thing else the *Arabs* and *Persians* write concerning that great *Macedonian*. This may be sufficient to evince that our Authors had been well informed of these great Events, and that they consequently may claim our Belief, in some other points, which cannot be so happily made out.

What our Authors write of the Government of *China*, as being a metropolitan City, or the Capital of a Province, is distinguished from others, by five Trumpets of extraordinary Size, is not altogether confirmed by our modern Accounts; but it is, however, a thing to be found in some Authors, and may, it is likely, have been observed when this Mark of Dignity was in being.

The

Drums.

L. i. c. 6.

The Drums they relate to have been in each City, are to this Day Ensigns of Distinction. *Navarrette* writes, that at *Nankin*, then the Royal City, there was a Drum for each Tribunal; that it is beaten to call the Magistrates to Council; and that the Drum belonging to the supreme Council is covered with the whole Hide of an Elephant, and that they beat it with a great Piece of Wood which hangs by Ropes. *Martini* relates, that before each Governor's Palace, there are two small Towers with musical Instruments and Drums, which are beaten when the Governor goes out, or comes in, or takes his Seat. Father *Magalhaes* speaks of that at *Pekin*, as of unusual Bulk, being no less than thirty six Foot in Circumference.

All the Cities are square, as is observed by the Fathers *Trigaut*, *Martini*, *Navarrette*, and many others.

Pinto.

Purch. Vol.

III. p. 276,

p. 319.

Atl. p. 195.

Our Author tells us the Governors of the great Cities are called *Difu*; that those of the smaller Towns, which Father *Martini* calls Cities, are *Tufang*; that the Eunuchs are titled *Tukan*, and the supreme Judge of each City, *Lakshi-ma-mak-van*; and confess that they know not how to delineate these Titles in *Arabian* Characters. Now, we find Traces of these same Names in our late Relations; for *Trigaut* calls one of the principal Magistrates *Toutam*, the same the *Dutch* call *Tontang*, in their Embassy. Father *Martini* observes also, that in *Junnan*, there are certain Lords called *Tuquon*, who are invested with an absolute Power; and, according to *Magalhaes*, the Princes of the Province of *Junnan*, *Queichu*, *Quamfi*, and *Sutchuen*, are called *Tuquon* or *Tusu*. The supreme Magistrate of Cities and Provinces is still called *Lipu*, whence, to all appearance, the *Arabs* formed their *Difu*, or *Cifu*, which is still a considerable Dignity.

Eunuchs.

P. 129.

l. 3.

Purch.

353.

In the same modern Writings, we read also of Eunuchs invested with the most important Posts, and particularly employed to receive the Customs in Cities. Father *Martini* mentions him of *Nankin*, as a great Officer; and Father *Trigaut* mentions him of *Linsing*, who was sent to receive the King's Revenues, and of another who superintended the Shipping. Father *Diego de Pantoja* describes the Pomp of the Eunuch *Mathan*, in a Letter of his; and Father *Trigaut* informs us there is a great Number of Eunuchs, who are so made by their own Fathers; *Quos castrant quam plurimi, ut inter regios Famulos an-*
numerant

numerari queant, nam præter hos, alii Regi non famulantur, nec à consiliis sunt, nec cum eo colloquuntur, quin imo tota fere regni administratio in semi-virorum manibus versatur. In fine, Father Martini in his History of the Tartar Wars, says, that the Emperor Tianki raised his Eunuch Guei to so mighty a pitch of Power, that he ruled the Empire with an arbitrary Authority, putting to death, and depriving of their Offices all such as were not agreeable to him. P. 64.

What our Author adds of the little Bell hung in each Palace, for those who desired to be righted by the Emperor, or the Sovereign Magistrate, when they could not obtain Justice at the Inferior Tribunals, is grounded upon a very ancient Custom, which is to be seen in Father Martini's Life of the Emperor Yow, who reigned MMCCVII Years before Christ; "He lent a ready Ear to all those who offered to advise him concerning his Duty; and ordered a Bell, a Drum, a Table of Stone, a Plate of Iron, and of Lead to be fixed at the Gate of his Palace, causing Proclamation at the same time to be made, That all Persons of understanding and approved Character might strike upon any of these Instruments, each of which was appropriated to particular Cases. They rang the Bell for what regarded Justice; they beat the Drum for what concerned the Laws, or Religion; they struck upon the Leaden Plate when they wanted to speak on Matters of State; upon the Stone Table, for Wrongs committed by the Magistrates; and on the Plate of of Iron, for Prisoners." * Little Bell.

Hist. Sin.
p. 52.

* *Eos qui officii sui admonitum reprehendebant non minori facilitate audiuit, quam, ut Sinica phrasi utar, aqua densum fluit. Hinc ante fores Palatii campanam, tympanum, tabellam lapideam, ferream, & plumbeam appendi jussit, addito Edicto, quo doctis & probis viris, qui de re aliqua monendum Imperatorem ducerent, potestas fiebat, ex his instrumentis illud pulsandi, quod cuique causarum generi esset destinatum. Qui justitia consultum ibant, ære campana: qui legibus ac religioni, tympano edebant sonum: si regni negotia forent, tabellam plumbeam si in juriæ à Magistratibus illatæ, lapideam, si de carcere & vinculis querelæ, ferream pulsabant.*

P. 4.

He adds, that this Emperor one day rose twice from Table, and that another time he went thrice out of the Bath to give Audience to those who requested it by these Signals. This same Custom still survives in China, according to Father Couplet, who, in his *Chronological Abridgment* says of this same King, "He erected a Drum and a Bell at his Palace Gate, at the Sound of which he went out to give Audience to his Subjects, and this same Custom subsists to this Day."

Buildings.

Trig. l. 4.
p. 403.

L. i. c. 2.
p. 14.

The Chinese still build much after the same manner described by our Author; for the Inside of their Houses is Wood, and they particularly make use of the *Bamboo*, or split Cane for their Partitions, which they do over with their Varnish or *Glue Cîé*, the Composition of which they have hitherto kept to themselves; so that we cannot be sure our Author is not out, when he says they make it of Hemp-seed. Their Houses, says Father Martini, are not magnificent, but they are more convenient and neat than ours. They are not fond of several Stories, because of the Trouble of getting up Stairs; and the Emperor of China fell a laughing, when he was first shewn the Plans of the European Palaces, and could not conceive how our Princes did to live in upper Stories. Every Body is in the lower Part of their Houses, which is divided into Rooms and Chambers. The Outside of their Houses is but sparingly adorned, if you except the grand Entrance and others smaller in the Front, which are magnificent in the Houses of the Wealthy: But the Inside is more embellished; every thing is done over with their precious *Cîé*, and shines to a wonder, all their Walls being varnished therewith. The Houses are commonly Wood, and even the Royal Palace is the same, but the main Walls are Brick, and serve to divide the other Rooms from the Chambers; for the Roof and Covering is supported by wooden Pillars, just as Father Trigaut had said before in almost the very same Words.

Tympanum & campanam ad Palatii valvas erigit, cujus pulsu suos auditurus predeat, qui usus hodieque viget.

The

The ancient Custom of keeping a Watch every Night upon a very lofty Tower, to beat a Drum as a Signal when they saw Fire break out in any House, is a Proof of the dread they have always had of Fires in their great Cities. It is even Death for the Person to whose Negligence a Fire is owing, because of the Danger of its spreading among so much Wood. Marco Polo takes Notice of this same Custom in his Description of Quinsai, and says, they there watch every Night for fear of Fire, because most of the buildings are of Wood; and that the Watch strike upon Bafons [Gongs] or great Boards, to give Notice thereof to the City.

Watchmen
to look out
for Fire.
Atlas Sin.
P. 17.

L. 2. p.
476.

Some Alterations may have happened in their Marriages, and we are not exactly informed of their Notions of Relation or Parentage. Father Trigaut reports, they are not very scrupulous in observing the Degrees of Consanguinity on the Mother's side; but they are very cautious of marrying any Person that happens to have their own Surname, tho' in no degree related to them; this is observed by the other Writers, and Father Couplet has not forgot it in his *Abridgment*.

Marriages.
2 Account
p. 24.

P. 48.

In our Author's days there were public Couriers in several Parts of the *Mohammedan* Empire. Some of these went on Foot, as the Custom still is in the *Othman* [Ottoman] Empire, where all the Soltan's orders are conveyed by Olacs or Footmen, who being fixed at certain Stations, make incredible dispatch. The same there were in *China*; and if we may believe Father Martini, there are still the same, disposed at each Stone, a Stone containing ten *Chinese* Furlongs, or one of our Leagues, who forward the Dispatches of the King and Governors.

Couriers
and Horses.
1 Account
p. 11.

Moreover, it appears by the Testimony of *Abu Zeid*, that they had Post-Horses, or at least Mules; for the word *Berid* has this signification, and has for a long while been very much in use, to signify Horse Posts. The *Arabs* made use of these upon many important Occasions, just in the same manner as in other Places, but with this difference, that as Posts were originally set up for Public Affairs only, they were applied to no other uses among the *Mohammedans*, and the same it was among the *Chinese*. Father Martini observes of *China*, that at every eighth Stone, which ends a Day's

Atl. p. 13;

Journey ; there are Royal Public-Houses called *Cung-quon* and *Yeli*, for the Accommodation of Governors and Magistrates, who are there entertained at the King's Expence, if they send but a Letter before them ; and that there they are furnished with Carriages, and every other Conveniency ; which comes pretty near to the *Erectio* of the *Romans*.

- l. 2. c. 20. *Marco Polo* says, that in his time, there were Posts in *China*, and that they were settled from three Miles to three Miles, which is much the same Distance allowed by *Father Martini*: that these Places were visited once every Month, and that the Notaries or Clerks wrote down the Name of each Messenger, the Days of their Departure, and such like Circumstances.

*Admini-
stration of
Justice.* What is related concerning their Administration of Justice, the Severity of their Tribunals, and many other parts of the *Chinese* Polity, needs no particular Illustration. Those who have perused the Modern Accounts of *China*, will perceive that our *Arabs* are not much out of the way in what they write of the same. All Business is there transacted by Petition, and in Writing ; and Justice was severely administered in former Days, a notable Instance of which we have in the Story of the *Khorassanian* Merchant, who demanded and obtained Justice against the Eunuch, though the Emperor's Favorite.

But it seems that this ancient Severity is ill observed in these latter times ; for whereas, our Authors affirm, Robbers were punished with Death without any hopes of Reprieve, *Father Trigaut* acquaints us, that, in his time, they were only condemned to the Gallies, even after many Repetitions of their Crime ; and that for the first Commission they only branded them with a hot Iron and Ink.

*The Bam-
boo.* The Punishment of the *Bamboo* was also in his time, inflicted for the slightest Offences, and almost without any Form, quite the Reverse of the ancient Usages ;

- l. 1. c. 9. but our Authors agree with the Moderns, in what regards the Severity and Manner thereof ; and that the Criminal was beaten upon the Buttocks with great Canes, to so violent a degree, that it often deprived him of Life. It was the Emperor *Venius*, who first appointed this kind of Punishment, instead of another infinitely more cruel,

*Mart. Hist.
Sin. p. 335.*

of

of cutting the Criminal into Pieces. And hence, possibly it is, that our Authors say, the *Chinese* are such as were executed, which we do not read in our modern Accounts, and seems to be quite inconsistent with the *Chinese* Politeness. We are told indeed, by Father *Martini*, that the Empress *Vibia*, Wife to *Kieu*, the *Nero* of *China*, who began his Reign 1818 Years before Christ, ate human Flesh; but it is unnatural to suppose so detestable an Example could prevail into a Custom, in a Country so abundantly productive of every thing good for Food.

Marco Polo, however, relates that in the Province of *Xandu*, they had this horrid Practice, and that when a Person is sentenced to death, they dress him and eat his Flesh; and says also, that in the Kingdom of *Concha*, they eat the Flesh of those who die a violent death, and particularly of their Enemies slain in Battel. l. i. c. 48.

The manner how the Emperor and the Kings or Governors, who represent him, appear in public, is pretty much like what we are told of the same by our latest Accounts, wherein are many Descriptions of the Procession of a *Mandarin*: His Train is very numerous, and he is attended by a great number of Officers under Arms. First he is preceded by some with large *Bamboos*, where, with they make much such a Noise as the Christians of the *Levant* make with the Boards they use instead of Bells: Every body must stop to do him Honour, and those on Horseback must dismount; nay, according to *Trigaut*, every one withdraws into his House. * "Many l. i. c. 55.
" other Ensigns of Dignity there are, says he, to distinguish the Magistrates; Streamers, Chains, Censers, and a numerous Guard, who, by the Noise they make, disperse the Croud. So great a Veneration do they require, that these Noises are no sooner heard, even in the most crowded Streets, but every Soul disappears, every body withdraws." As for the Emperor and Viceroy, they agree with all our Travellers, that it is

* *Sunt alia per multa dignitatis ornamenta, Magistratumque insignia, vexilla, catenæ, thuribula. Satellitum frequens, cujus clamoribus arcetur in vicis turba, & tanta est eorum veneratio, ut in vicis etiam frequentissimis nemo compareat, sed secedant ad hos ejulatus omnes,*

feldom they appear in public, and that, not till they have put their Guards under Arms, and posted them in the Avenues of the main Streets; and that formerly they never stirred out but in close Litters, of which they carried many at a time, that it might not be known in which the Prince rode. This is an ancient Custom since, the Emperor *Hoai* set the first Example of it, *MMXL* Years before Christ. *Navarette* relates of the Emperor, that,
 * "When he moves they shut all the Doors in the Streets
 "through which he is to pass; that every body keeps
 "within Doors, so that not a Soul is to be seen, and
 "that the Person who should shew his Head, would be
 "most severely chastised."

P. 20.

*Imposts
and Taxes.**Atlas Sin.**Mart. Hist.
Sin.*

l. 1. c. 3.

l. 1. c. 11.

P. 26.

Our Authors tell us that the Emperor's Revenues pro-
 vene from a Poll Tax, which is levied only upon Men,
 from eighteen Years to eighty, and that, in proportion
 to their Wealth: That Salt and Tea pay Duty also to
 the King, and that Land is unburdened by any Tax.
 But if you consult Father *Martini's* Estimates of what
 each Province pays to the Emperor of *China*, you
 will perceive that Matters are very much altered;
 for they each pay very considerable Tributes in Silk,
 Cotton, Stuffs, Provisions for his Table, and his Stables.
 Salt is still taxed in part, but Tea is clear; and this *Ga-
 belle* or Duty must be of very old standing, since King
Venius, who reigned 179 Years before Christ, took it
 off; but it was soon put on again. Father *Trigaut* ob-
 serves, that in his time it brought great Sums into the
 Imperial Coffers; but at present, according to *Navarette*,
 Commodities pay no Duties, and the main branches of
 the Revenue are the Land-Tax, Poll Tax, and the Du-
 ties upon Salt, Silk, Stuffs, and a Tax upon Houses.
 He says the Imperial Revenue exceeds sixty Millions,
 clear of all charges; and Father *Martini* who descends
 to particulars, runs it up to a higher amount. These Ex-
 aggerations were the cause why *Marco Polo* was nick-
 named *Messer Marco Million*, and even some old Co-
 pies of his Book, are intitled, *Il Millione*. *Navarette*
 talks of above a hundred Millions.

* *Las puertas de las casas por cuyas calles ha de passar
 se cierran de todas, y la gente se recoge; de suerte que niun
 alma se ve, y si se viera, recibiera gravissimo castigo.*

All

All the Money current in *China*, is still Copper, and nearly of the Size of our *Liards* or *Farthings*, and shaped as our Authors describe. The *Arabs* call them *Falus*, which signifies their Copper Money, and is derived from *Follis*, which had much the same Signification in the lower Empire. It has a Hole in the middle that it may be strung, in which manner they make up their Sums. It is rather a made Metal than Copper, and for Colour is not unlike our *Sols* with *Cbinese* Characters on one side only, that having one side quite flat, they may be the more conveniently strung. These Pieces are to be seen in many Cabinets, and you have a representation of them, in *Tavernier's Travels*; but he has made the Hole round, whereas it should be square, which is better adapted to keep them steady. In our *Second Account* we are told, that a thousand of these Pieces are worth a *Dinar* of Gold, which is exactly equal, in Weight, to the half *Pistole* of *Spain*. It appears therefore that the *Arabs*, who have always been subtle Traders, and who had of this Money at *Siraf*, kept it down at a very low Value, and at much less than it ought to have been in proportion to the Standard of the *Cbinese* Gold and Silver, as it is now allowed by our Merchants; the Gold at forty two *Livres* per Ounce, and the Silver at fifty nine *Sols*, eight *Deniers*.

Both ancient and modern Authors are agreed upon the Prohibition, which prevents Gold or Silver from being coined in *China*; and Father *Martini*, in the Life of *Ve-* *Hist. Sin.*
nius, who reigned 179 Years before Christ, expresses him- *P. 328.*
self thus. * " Their Kings have never allowed Gold or
" Silver to be coined into Money, thereby to obviate
d 4 " the

* *Nunquam eorum Regibus placuit vel argenteam cudi vel auream monetam, fraudis quibus ista gens assueta, lucrique sagacissima, præcaventibus. Solo pondere argenti vel auri valorem expendunt, & quatenus quidque mistum purumve sit, accuratissime dignoscunt. Quanquam auro nunquam utuntur ad emendum, quippe quod non pecuniam sed mercem esse dicunt. Hinc autem sit ut argentum continuo quasi tormento subiaceat, & in minutissima frusta, ferrea forcipe ad hoc apta disfringatur ---- Cupream vero monetam*

“ the universal Frauds of the Nation, so greedy of Lu-
 “ cre. They take Gold and Silver by Weight, and
 “ know perfectly well whether it be fine or not. Ne-
 “ vertheless they sometimes purchase with Gold, but
 “ then it is reckoned as a Commodity, not as Money;
 “ whence it is that Silver is perpetually chopped to
 “ pieces, with a kind of Sheers contrived on purpose.
 “ But they have a long time had Copper-Money, which
 “ this Emperor brought to a better and more commodi-
 “ ous Form; and allowed it to be coined all over the
 “ Empire, provided it was good. For till this time it
 “ was struck no where but in the Palace, to the great
 “ Gain of the Emperor, but to the great Inconvenience
 “ of the People, because of the difficulty and length of
 “ the ways. He ordered it into a round Form, with a
 “ square Hole in the middle, that it might be strung
 “ the more conveniently. It is commonly marked with
 “ four Characters, which tell the Name of the Empe-
 “ ror, and the Value of the Piece.” Father *Trigaut*
 writes to the same Purpose, and adds, that the same
 thing is observed to this Day; and the same is repeat-
 ed by *Martini* in the beginning of his *Chinese Atlas*.

Porcelane.

The fine Earth mentioned by our Author, must be
 that wherewith the *Porcelane* is made, particularly in
 the Territory of *Yaocheu*, the second City of the Pro-
 vince of *Kiangsi*; and is brought from the City of *Hoie-
 cheu*, in the Province of *Nankin*, where they cannot
 work it up, as much as they have of it, which is thought
 to be owing to a difference in the Waters. Almost all
 this Ware in *China*, is made in the Town of *Feuloang*,
 by clumsy Country Fellows. They make some of it
 yellow, which is set apart for the Emperor. Great

*à multo jam tempore habuere, quam hic Imperator ad me-
 liorem commodioremque formam revocavit, ac concessit insu-
 per ut ubique, modo sine fraude, in toto imperio cuderetur.*
Nam ante hæc tempora fiebat hoc in sola regia, magno
quidem Imperatorum quæstu sed majori populorum incom-
modo, propter difficultates itinerum & distantiam locorum.
Monetæ formam rotundam esse voluit, & in medio quadra-
tum foramen, quo facilius filum infereretur. Insignitur
quatuor plerumque literis, nomen Imperatoris, & imposi-
tum valorem significantibus.

Quantities

Quantities of it are also made in the Province of *Klamsi*, according to *Trigaut* and *Martini*. Among the Articles of a noble Present sent to *Nuroddin* by *Saladin*, soon after he became Master of *Ægypt*, mention is made of a Service of *China* Ware, consisting of forty Pieces.

Macrizi
MSS.
Arab.

What is in the same place said of their way of treating the Merchants they admitted into their Dominions, is not altogether conformable to the present Practice; but by our last Accounts, and particularly by the *Dutch Embassy*, we may perceive they have been very cautious how they suffered Strangers to enter among them. *Trigaut* insinuates that in his time it was customary to send the Emperor whatever was most curious in the Country. And their manner of visiting and stopping the Goods, and even the Presents the *Dutch* carried with them into *China*, is very agreeable to what we are told by our two Authors.

Merchants

As for their Funerals, they are almost still the same as formerly. *Martini* relates that they still mourn three Years for the Death of their Fathers, during which they abstain from all public Business, and the Magistrates from their Employments. That they express their Grief, not by the coarseness of their Dress only, but that they also change their Table Service, their Bed, their Place, their Food, their manner of writing, their ways of speaking, their Paper, their Ink, and their Name; and then they put on white. They mourn three Years by way of Acknowledgment to their Parents, who administered to all their Wants and Imbecilities, during the three first Years of their Infancy, and Father *Trigaut* has the very same Customs described by our Author. * “Children oftentimes keep the dead Bodies of their Parents three or four Years, shutting them up in Coffins, which they do over with their Varnish in such a manner that no offensive Smell can come forth; and during all this time they set Meat before them just as if they were alive.”

Funerals..
Hist. Sin.
p. 43.

l. i. c. 7.

* *Non rara filii parentum cadavera feretro inclusa ad tres quatuorve annos domi asservant, suo enim illo pelucido bitumene ita rimas ilinunt, ut minime fetorem transmittant. Quo tempore in singulos dies, cibum illis potumque offerunt, non secus ac si superessent.*

This

This Custom of setting Meat and Drink before their Dead, which *Abu Zeid* harps upon; is to this Day the Practice; and, by *Tavernier*, is a Custom still in force with the *Chinese* at *Batavia*.

Trig. p. 78.

The Expences the *Chinese* are still at in burying their Parents, are very extraordinary; for they put them into Coffins of a precious Wood, which sometimes cost two thousand Crowns. They invite all their Relations and Friends to pay their last Duties to the departed Person, during the time the Body is in the Coffin, and expend great Quantities of precious Perfumes, Flowers, and other different Things, which those who come, offer as a Sacrifice to the Soul of their deceased Friend or Relation. They light up Tapers, and they sometimes burn rich Stuffs, under a Notion of sending them to the dead Man: All this must naturally cause a vast Expence, without reckoning the Funeral Procession, when they have always a great Number of Bonzes, Minstrels, and Mourners.

Writing
common.

l. 9. p.
390.

All the *Chinese* can write and read; this is confirmed by the common Concurrence of all Authors, ancient and modern; and what is said afterwards, that all Business is transacted in Writing, is, to all Appearance, the chief Reason thereof. *Martini* attributes this to the Emperor *Sivenius*, who began his Reign 73 Years before Christ, and the Reason he alledges for it, was to the end that Judges might the more maturely weigh the Cases brought before them, and might not be confounded by the Noise and empty Babble of the Parties concerned. All Accounts agree in what is said of the great number of their public Schools, which is so much the greater, as one Master cannot instruct above three or four Scholars.

Alms.

What our Authors observe of the Subsistence the poor receive from the Emperor's Granaries in times of a general Dearth, is very remarkable, and *Marco Polo* expresses himself in almost the same Terms. He says that at such times, the Emperor claims no dues, but, on the contrary, administers to the Wants of his Subjects, and supplies them with Corn for their Subsistence, and to sow their Ground. That to this purpose the great *Khan* in times of Plenty, buys up great Quantities of Corn, which he keeps in Store-Houses for three or four Years together

On the Foregoing Accounts.

59

together, and that in times of Dearth, he sells it out at so low a rate, that he gives four Measures at a Price, which would purchase but one of the same at Market.

In the same Author you may read also of the very extraordinary Alms, the great *Khan*, who was then Emperor of *China*, gave to the Poor, which as *Navarette* avers, drew on a Debt, many Millions of which, do still ly heavy upon the Emperor's Household.

What is said by our Authors, of their Behaviour to foreign Merchants, may have been formerly the case, and their Custom of searching all their Goods, and of taking them as a Pledge, is observed by several Writers. *Joseph Barbaro*, who met a *Tartar* from *China* at the Court of *Persia*, says, that the Merchants, immediately upon their Arrival, carry their Effects to Ware-Houses, and those, whose Business it is, coming to search them, and finding any thing that may be acceptable to the Prince, take it and pay for it in other Goods.

Manner of
receiving
Merchants

P. 107.

ILLUS.

ILLUSTRATIONS ON THE NATURAL HISTORY

Contained in the Foregoing Accounts.

OUR two Authors agree with the most sincere Travellers, as to the great abundance of every thing necessary for Life, or that can administer to Luxury in the Country of *China*. It produces Wheat, Rice, and many other sorts of Grain; it produces Apples, Pears, Quinces, Lemons, Citrons, *Moufa's* or *Indian Figs* or *Banana's*, Sugar-Canes, Figs, Grapes, Cucumbers, Citruls, Walnuts, *Pistachio's*, Plumbs, Abricots, Services, Coco-Nuts, and even Almonds, according to our Author; but therein he varies from *Martini*, who observes that there are no Almonds in *China*, nor Olives, which is confirmed by other Authors.

Trig. 1. 1.
c. 3.

They have all sorts of Cattle, and particularly Beasts of Service. Many Horses they have, but, formerly they were not to compare with the *Arabs*; and indeed till the last Conquest by the *Tartars*, who brought great numbers of their Horses into *China*, the *Chinese* Cavalry was of no worth; for their Horses could not bear the fight, nor even the Neighing of the *Tartar* Breed,

Our

Our Authors say there are no Elephants in *China*, which must be understood of the Provinces they knew, where, in truth, there are none. Father *Martini* writes, that they begin to be met with at *Nanning*, in the Province of *Quangli*, where the Inhabitants use them for War and for Carriage. Some there are also in the Province of *Junnan*; nor is it a wonder that these Creatures, who so swarm in the *Indies*, and in *Tungkin* or *Tonquin*, should straggle hither.

Atl. Sin.
p. 183.

All our Travellers report with our Authors, that there are no Lions in *China*; this, *Trigaut*, *Martini*, and many others, affirm: But as it would be endless to insist upon every particular of this kind, the following Remarks shall be confined to what our Authors say of two very rare and extraordinary Animals, the Unicorn, and That which yields Musk.

By the Word or *Appellative* Unicorn, we understand a Creature, which the *Arabs*, and other Orientals, call *Karkandan*, the same with the *Monoceros* of the Ancients. Our Author says he is much smaller than the Elephant; that from the Neck downwards he is not unlike a Bufflar; that his Hoof is not cloven; and that his fore Legs are all of a piece and jointless, which seems incredible, and to contradict what both Ancients and Moderns have told of his Swiftnes. He adds that the lowing of the Unicorn, is between the lowing of the Ox, and the Cry of the Camel. Now Father *Jeronymo Lobo*, and other Jesuits, who have lived some Years in *Ethiopia*, aver they have seen of these Creatures in the Province of *Agao*s, in the Kingdom of *Damota*, and describe them to this Effect: This Creature is about as big as a middle-sized Horse, of a dark brown, with a black Tail and Main, the Main short and thin. They add that in other parts of this same Province, they saw others with a thicker and longer Main, and with a strait Horn of five Palms in length, and of a whitish cast; and that they are eternally in the Woods, being very timorous, and never venturing themselves abroad in open places. Father *Lobo* relates that many of the *Portuguese* had seen them also in *Ethiopia*, and that from the tops of Rocks, they discovered them passing along in Herds in the Valleys of the Province of *Nanina*: and this he attested to Mr. *Toinard*, who saw him at *Lisbon* in the Year

The Unicorn.

This whole Account is to be found in the 4. vol. of Thevenot's Collection of Voyages. MDCLXVII. He told him that some were white, and others Bay, with a white Horn in the Forehead a Yard long; and that he had a Colt of this same kind that lived but eight or ten Days, for want of its Dam to suck.

What the *Nubian Geographer* writes of this Animal, is almost wholly taken from our two Authors, with some Additions, as the Custom is with the *Arabs*, who seldom transcribe a Passage exactly, but are for ever adding what they find elsewhere. Most of their Authors tell wonders of this Creature, though perhaps from a very slender Knowledge of him. The Testimony also of *Cosmas* the Monk, in his *Christian Topography* must not be omitted. This Writer owns he never saw the Unicorn himself, but assures us he saw four Brass Figures of him in the King of *Ethiopia's* Palace, called the four Towers; that they told him this Creature was terrible and untractable; and that when he was closely pursued by the Hunters, and on the brink of falling a Prey to them, he would throw himself down Precipices, and fall upon his Horn, which stood all the Shock of the Fall. To this Creature he applies many passages in Scripture.

In Thevenot's Collection. vol. I.

In *Anselm de Boot's* Treatise, you have the chief of the Observations made upon the Unicorn by the Ancients. He remarks that the Name *Monoceros*, which corresponds with the Name *Unicorn*, is common to five different Animals; the *Indian Beewes*, described by *Pliny*; the *Rhinoceros*, an Animal of a particular Genus; the *Monoceros* of *Pliny*, of the size of a Horse, with the Head of a Stag, the Feet of an Elephant, and the Tail of a wild Boar; the *Indian As* of the same *Pliny*; and the *Oryx* with a split Horn, often mentioned by *Aristotle*, *Ælian*, and the other Naturalists.

All these several Creatures have but one Horn, and what the curious preserve under the Denomination of the Unicorn's Horn, may be the Spoil of one or other of these kinds; but to these we may also add, the Horns of the Nothern Fish, called *Morfs*, which are of extraordinary length; and the Horns also of the *Sea-Cow*, who sometimes comes to land, and is described by *Martini*. Most of our modern Writers will have it that the Horns in our Cabinets are not of the Unicorn, but the Teeth of this Fish, in the North particularly; or else some of those

those fossil Horns described by *Anselm de Boot*; whence many have pronounced there are no true Unicorns Horns, and that we must search the Sea for these long-horned Creatures, rather than the Land. In *de la Pereyre* Account of *Greenland*, you have on this Head many curious Observations, which were communicated to him by *Wormius*. By them it is demonstrated that these Horns have all the Marks of the Teeth of a Fish the *Ice-landers* call a *Narbual*, the same, perhaps, our Author calls a *Wal*; that they are carious at the Root, almost like rotten Teeth; and that the Sea throws up great Quantities of them upon the Shores, a plain Proof that they come from an Inhabitant of the Water. In the same Book you have a Representation of the *Cranium* of this Fish, and those who have treated of *Ice-land* concur with the Observations of *Wormius*. But all this can only prove, that most of the Horns supposed to come from the Unicorn are the Spoils of a Fish, not that there is no such Creature as we have a Notion of when we mention the Unicorn, in Scripture called *Reem*; where also he is frequently set forth as an Animal rare to be seen, vigorous, and wonderfully fleet and strong. Thus almost is it that the *Arabs* and *Persians* express themselves of their *Karkandan*. *Louis Barthema* says he saw two at *Mecca*, sent thither as a Present from the King of *Ethiopia*; Since therefore we have some credible Authors, who profess to have seen this Creature, and since our *Arabs* even say that they have eaten of his Flesh, we seem to want something more than bare Conjecture to satisfy us, with some of the Moderns, that there never were any other Unicorns than the *Narbuals*; for this Fish is as uncommon in the East, as the Unicorn is in the North and the West.

P. 151

Those who would be more amply informed of what the Ancients have written concerning the Unicorn, may find their Words most faithfully cited by *Bochart* in his *Hierozyicon*, as also some Passages from *Arabian* Writers concerning the same, and particularly from *Damiri*, whom he calls *Demir*, who being but a late Author, seeing he died in the Year MCCCCV, has compiled all that had been said by those who went before him. You have also a great Number of curious Observations upon the same Subject in *Thomas Bartholinus*'s Dissertation, printed at *Padua* in the Year MDCXLV, as well as in that of *Deusingius*, printed at *Groningen* in the Year MDCLX.

Our

Amber.

Our Authors thought, with some of the ancients, that Ambergreese grows like a Plant at the Bottom of the Sea, and that it is thrown on the Shore by the Swell; and that pieces of it are to be found in the Belly of Whales. The oldest of them having first observed, that among the *Maldives* they found Lumps of Ambergreese of extraordinary Size, adds, that it was also found in smaller pieces, almost in the Form of Plants torn up; that in Storms it was forced up from the Bottom; that the Wave washed it to the Shore, and that there it is found in the Form of a Mushroom or Truffle. The other says, that the best of it is found upon the Coast of *Barbary*, or the Country of *Zinge*, that is of the *Cafres* on the East Coast of *Afric*, and even on the Coast of *Arabia*; That the Negroes train up Camels to go along shore with them by Moon-light; That these Camels know the Amber, and when they discovered any, bend their Knees, that their Master may pick it up; That there is another sort of Ambergreese, which floats upon the Surface of the Sea; That a great Fish of the Whale-kind swallows it, and immediately dies; and that when the Negroes see him dead upon the Water they know that he has Amber in him, and that they go off to him, and find it in his Belly; both of them adding, that the best Amber is of a whitish Colour.

Vid. Barbos. p. 313.

Serapion, *Avicen*, and others since them, concur with the principal Observations of our Authors. They say it comes from the Sea, but not as a Plant, according to *Avicen*, but in Veins, which does not seem at all likely. He confirms, that Quantities of it are collected on the Coasts, and that That called *Shelabeti* is the best; this, in the old Translation, being rendered *Selachitum*, the learned *Garcias de Orta* imagined that *Ceylon* was thereby pointed at; for the Sea is very liberal of this precious Substance to that Island: But it was thus denominated from the Sea of *Shelabet*, which, according to our Authors, is beyond Cape *Comorin*, and divided from the Sea of *Harkand*, by those great Islands, which must be *Java* and its Neighbours.

L. 2, c.
143. p.
233.

The Commentator upon *Avicen*, cited by *Plempius*, assures us that Amber grows in the Sea like a Plant; *Serapion* will have it to grow upon Rocks: *Simson Setbi* relates

tates that it rises in Springs like Pitch and Bitumen; but is mistaken when he adds, that it is found *ἐν τινὶ Ἰνδῇ-χῇ πόλει σελάχεται ὀνομαζομένη*, In an Indian City called Selachet; for, as we have observed it is the Name of the Coast washed by the Sea of *Shelabet*. These Passages in *Avicen* and *Simeon Sethi*, shew that the Sea of *Shelabet* was not unknown in their Days. The Town of *Arabia the Happy*, which he calls *Σύγχριον*, is *Sichar*, where also, according to our Authors; it is washed on Shore by the Wave.

The Opinion of those who believe Amber is found in Whales, or in other great Fishes of the Cetaceous kind, is, by most of the Moderns, rejected; because there is no where less Amber found than on the principal Coasts of the *Whale-Fishery*; and because the *Basques* and the *Bretons*, who are almost always out a Fishing, confirm not the Testimony of the Ancients. Again, by the Dissections that have been made of several Whales, it is proved that their Throat is not wide in Proportion to their Body; tho' possibly Amber may have been found in some of the great Fish of a voracious Nature, as well as many other foreign Substances, which they greedily snap at and swallow. But this amounts not to a Proof that they have any particu- lar Gust for Ambergreese, which is by no means a food proper for them; and it is still less to be supposed they would seek after a Thing that must prove fatal to them, a very Poison, if true it be, as our Authors take it, that the Fish dies upon swallowing this Amber; for the natural Instinct of Animals prompts them to such Things as are good for them, and deters them from such as are hurtful. It is therefore more likely that Ambergreese is found naturally in the Sea; that it is not voided as an Excrement by the Whale or any other of the cetaceous Tribe; and that if at any time they are found to have Amber within them, which at present is very seldom, it must be considered as a mere accident against the common Course of Nature, and the Instinct of Animals.

There are two other Opinions, which carry a greater Air of Probability with them, and seem to confirm each other. The *First* is that Amber is not a Plant at the Bottom of the Sea, but is generated thus;

Upon

Garc. de
Orl. l. 1. c.
1. Scalig.
Exerit.
204 n. 10.

Upon the East Coast of *Afric*, and in some Parts of the *Indian Ocean*, there are craggy Rocks or Precipices, which swarm with wild Bees, who there make their Honey in Clefts as in natural Hives. Now they say that this Honey, either dissolved by Heat, or blown away by Winds, or washed down by Rains, drops into the Sea, where it assumes a new Form, and changes its Nature; for that the Saltness of the Sea elaborating the whole Mass, hardens it, purifies it, and gives it the agreeable Scent of Amber. That hence it is it smells somewhat like Honey when it happens to be picked up soon after it comes from Sea, and that the Spoils of Bees are found in or upon it; and to crown all, this is a pretty generally received Opinion among the Inhabitants of the Coasts most favored with Presents of this kind. Thus thinks *Gentius* a learned *Dutchman*, who herein agrees with what other Authors write, as that it comes from Rocks, or Islands, and that it is perfected in the Sea.

*Not. in Gu-
list. p. 542.
l. 2. c. 23.*

It is not without Ground that *Gentius's* Opinion appears so probable to some of the Learned. The Whiteness of Amber, inclining to the Grey, borders somewhat upon the Colour of Honey; and certain it is, that the Spoils of Bees and the Bills of small Birds which are sometimes found in Bits of Amber, are far from weakning this Conjecture. All the Difficulty is how to conceive, that Bees should be able to make Combs of such extraordinary Size as to be equal to some Lumps of Amber that have been formerly found upon the Shore, and even in our own Days. For it is not very natural to suppose that these Combs, falling into the Sea, should combine into Pieces of fifteen, twenty, and thirty Pound Weight; or into Heaps of such Bulk that a small Vessel might have been laden therewith; nay, a Number of Ships, if we can add Faith to the Report of a *French* Captain mentioned in the History of the *English* Royal Society.

*English E-
dition. 168.
l. 1. p. 20.*

Teixeira writes that in the Year 1696. a Piece of Amber was seen, near *Brava* on the East Coast of *Afric*, of so unusual a Size, that a Man mounted upon a Camel could not be discovered behind it.

A ship from *Mosambique*, once dropped an Anchor upon a great Piece of Amber, and the same Thing hapned to another near Cape Currents.

The same Author speaks of a Piece of Amber of twenty Pounds Weight thrown up between the Rivers *Linda* and *Quilima*; of another washed on Shore upon the Coast of *Malabar*, which the Inhabitants mistaking for Pitch payed their Barks with. Captain *Keeling* was told by the Moors at *Delisa*, that upon the Coasts of *Monbaca*, *Magadoxo*, *Paia*, and *Brava*, there were Pieces of Ambergreese of twenty Quintals. L. 1. c. 28.

Tavernier confirms what our Authors advance, saying, that great Quantities of Ambergreese are gathered on the Coast of *Melinda*, and that the Governors of *Mosambique* negotiate it with *Goa* to the Amount of great Sums. He relates also that it has been found in Lumps of extraordinary Size, and gives you two Instances thereof, of one that weighed twenty Pounds, and of another that weighed Forty-two. Purch. Vol. I. p. 193. Vide. T. 2. l. 2. c. 23.

In the History of *Saladin* we read that among the Presents he sent to *Soltan Nuroddin*, there were two Pieces of Ambergreese, the one of Twenty, the other of thirty Pound weight. Many Examples we have of Pieces of Amber of very great Bulk like that found towards Cape *Comorin* in the Year MDLV. which weighed three Thousand Pound; but what *Rabbi David de Pomis* advances, that Amber was found in the *Jordan*, and that it was an Ingredient in the Perfumes of the old *Law*, is a meer Fable; for unless we grant that Amber was there found by a Miracle we must reject what he says in this respect, especially as he has not the Concurrence of one single Author to support him. The *Jews* say, that the Word *Kifat*, in their *Talmud*, signifies an odoriferous Plant, and not Amber, as the Moderns have thought. It does not appear that the Ancients had any Knowledge of this Perfume. Hist. Hebrai.

Joam dos Santos has many particulars concerning Amber, and most of them confirm what our Authors say; he reports it to grow at the Bottom of the Sea, whence it is torn up by Storms; and that at such times the *Cafres* never fail to be along Shore in quest of it, to sell it to the *Portuguese* and the *Moors*. Moreover, that there are three Sorts of it, the first very white, Hist. de Ethiop. Orient. l. 1. c. 28.

the second of a greyish cast, and called *Maxueya*, and the third black like Pitch, soft, and often ill scented, because as the Inhabitants report, Wales and other Fishes, and even Birds swallow it as often as they see it floating on the Surface. The *Cafres* called *Fumos*, near the Land of *Natal*, seeing some of the People belonging to a *Portuguese* Ship called the *St. Thomas*, who was lost in her homeward-bound Passage, cried out to them to throw away what they had picked up, saying it was a Poison which dried up those who collected it so that they dyed.

Of Musk.

Abu Zeid the Author of our second Account, is particular enough in his Description of the Creature which affords Musk. He says he is like the Roe-buck; that his Skin and Colour is the same; his Legs slender; his Horn split and a little bending; that he has two small white Teeth on each side, of the Length of half a Finger, or a little less; that they are strait and rise above the Muzzle of the Creature, almost like the Elephant's Teeth; in short, that this it is that distinguishes him from other Roe-Bucks. This Description does not much vary from what we read in the best Authors; for *Avicen* speaking of Musk, according to the Translation of *Plempius*, says, *Est Cyrtis seu folliculus animalis, ipsi caprea non absimilis caninos duos dentes candidos exertos gerentis & introrsum reflexos, infra cornuum*. You have two Representations of this Animal, the one in the Fragment of *Cosmas*, printed in the first Volume of *Thevenot's* Collection, the other in the second Volume of *Tavernier's* Travels. These are exactly alike, but they differ in two Articles from the Description *Abu-Zeid* gives us; for they put no Horns on the Head of this Creature, and make the two Teeth which distinguish him from the Roe-Buck to turn downwards, instead of pointing upwards like the lower Teeth of the Elephant, according to *Abu-Zeid's* Comparison, in which he is supported by the Testimony of *Avicen* and *Serapion*, cited by *Matthi-olus*. *Marco Polo* describes the Musk-creature to this effect; "His Skin is very coarse like that of the Stag; in his Feet and Tail he resembles the Gazelle, and, like her, has no Horns. He has four Teeth, two above, three Fingers long, fine, and

" 29

"as white as Ivory; two that rise up, and two that
"turn down; and he is beautiful to the Eye. In the
"full of the Moon he has an Imposthume which takes
"him on the Belly near the Navel; and then the
"Hunters go out and cut this Imposthume *".

Barbosa writes, that he nearest resembles the Gazelle, but differs from the others in saying his Coat is white; for these are his Words; Musk is found in small white Creatures like Gazelles, with Teeth like an Elephant but smaller. These Creatures are subject to a Kind of Imposthume under the Belly and the Breast, and when the Contents are ripened, they are taken with such an Itching, that, for Relief, they rub themselves against the Trees, and what falls in small Drops or Grains is the most perfect and the most exquisite Musk.

Thevenot's Description is still wider from the rest, he writes that in those Countries there is a Creature with the Muzzle of a Fox, and not bigger than a Hare. For Colour he is like the Stag, and has Teeth like a Dog; and produces the most excellent Musk. He has an Excrescence or Bladder under the Belly, full of corrupted Blood, and and it is this Blood which makes Musk, or rather that is the Musk itself. They take this from him, and immediately clap a Piece of Leather upon the Mouth of the Bladder that none of the Scent may evaporate; but the Creature dyes soon after this Operation. Antony Pigafetta, who says that Musk is the Cuttings of a Cat, cannot be allowed to agree with the rest foregoing.

Father Philip di Marini's Description is also different from what the others write; for he reports this Creature to have the Head of a Wolf, and Father Kircher in the Figure he gives, represents him with the Snout

Par. 3.
p. 149.

Chin. Il-
lustr. p.
191.

* Ha i peli a similitudine di cervo molto grossi, li piedi & la coda a modo della Gazella, no ha corne como la Gazella: ha quatro denti, cioe due della parte di sopra, lunghi ben tre dita e fortili, bianchi come avolio, e due ascendono in su, e due descendono in giu, & e bello animale da vedere. Nasce a questa bestia quando la Luna e piena, nel umbilico sotto il ventra un apostema di sangue, & i cacciagori nel tondo della Luna, escono fueri a prender de ditti animali, e tagliano questa postema.

REMARKS

of a Hog, which may be the Ingraver's Fault, who furnishes him with Claws also, whereas he has a cloven Hoof. Simeon Sethi errs still farther from Truth, by representing him to be as big as the Unicorn, and to be even of that Genus or Tribe; but hear his Words *. The baser Sort Musk is that which is brought from the Indies, which is blackish; and the worst of all is that which comes from China. All this Musk is formed in the Navel of a very large Creature which has but one Horn, and is like the Roe-Buck. In rutting time a Quantity of thick Blood gathers about his Navel, and causes a Tumor, attended with such anguish that, during the Time, he can neither eat nor drink. He rolls himself upon the Ground, and frees himself of this Tumor, full of turbid Blood, which clotting a considerable Time afterwards, acquires a good Scent.

All Authors then agree as to the Manner it is formed in the Excrecence or Bladder, or in the Tumor which gathers about the Navel of the Creature in rutting time; and there are few that do not confirm what is said of the Way the Chinese have of sophisticating it, by mixing therewith the Blood of the Creature, or some other Things which debase the Substance of it, or by putting little Bits of Lead into the Bladders or Cods, that they may weigh the heavier.

It seems that the Musk which runs from the Wound of the Creature when he rubs himself against the Stones, was prized by the Ancients at the highest Rate, as is observed by our Author, Serapion, and some others. That what was found in the Tumor itself before it was

* Τάτε ὃ ἥτων ὁ ἀπὸ τῆ Ἰνδίας μετακομιζόμενος
ἐπεὶ ὃ ἐπὶ το μελάντερον, καὶ τάτε πάλιν ὑποδέε-
σθαι ὁ ἀπὸ τῆ Σίνων ἀγόμενος. Πάντες ὃ ἐν ὀμφαλῷ
ἀπορροῶν ζῶν τινὸς μονοκέρατος μεγίστη, ὁμοίᾳ δο-
κάδι. Οἰσθημα ἐς τὸ τοῦτον ζῶν ὀσέται τῇ
ὀμφαλὸν παχυμερές αἷματος ἐν τῷ συναισθημένῳ
καὶ θνηκαῦτα νομῆς καὶ πότε ἀπέχεθαι, καὶ κυλίσθαι ἐπὶ
τῆς, καὶ ἀπεβάλλει τῇ ὀμφαλὸν αἷματος πλήρη βορβο-
ρόδης, ὅπερ πηγνύμενον, μετὰ τινὰ καιρὸν ἱκανὸν
ἐκκλίσθαι ἐμφόδιον.

broken,

broken, was reckoned of least value, because not perfectly ripe; and the Merchants of our times always make this Distinction.

Father Martini speaks thereof to this purpose; to the *Atl. Sin.* End that you may no longer be at a Loss to know what p. 58. Musk is, I will declare what I have more than once seen with my own Eyes; it is a Lump at the Navel of a Creature like a Purse, made of a very delicate Pellicle, and covered with very fine Hair. The Chinese call this Creature *Xe* from whence the Word *Xabiang*, that is the Odour or sweet Scent of this Creature *Xe* which signifies Musk. He is a Quadruped, and is not very unlike a little Stag, except that his Coat inclines more to be black, and that he has no Horns. *Tetxeira* says, he is like a *Gazelle*, and that his Coat is like the Tiger's.

A great Quantity of Musk is found in the Province of *Xensi*, at *Hangchung*, at *Cungchang*, at *Queichu* in the Province of *Suchuen*, in the Province of *Junnan*, and in some others, particularly in those conterminous with *Tibet*, where these Creatures most abound. p. 110.

According to our same Author, the Musk of *Tibet* is the most exquisite of all; because of the aromatic Pastures this Creature finds in *Tibet*, and not in *China*. *Probatissimus* say *Avicen*, si regionem spectes, est *Tebe-tius*, sive *Tumbascinus*, that is, the Country of *Tum-gage* which the *Arabs* take to be a Province of *China*. *Simeon Sethi* for want of understanding the Geography of these distant Parts, says that the best Musk is that which comes from City a great Way to the Eastward of *Chorassan* and called *Toupat*. A Greek Author, cited by *Lambecius*, calls it *ταπατ*; for thus is it the Orientals commonly pronounce what we write *Tibet*. From this Text *Ruellius*, who understood it not, has read *τῆ πατ*, and writes that the best Musk is called *Pat*. *Serapion* observes also that the best Musk is from *Tibet*, for the very same Reasons already alledged.

All the Ancients then and Moderns agree, that the most exquisite Musk is that of *Tibet*, or as others call it *Tumgage*; and this because of the Aromatic Pastures in that Land, such as are no where else to be found. That the *Indian* Musk comes next in degree of fineness, if so we may term what was brought to *Cabul*, and the other trading Towns of the *Indies*, by Merchants who trafficked

Not. Af-
ragan. p.
865.

Tavernier
vol. 2. 1.
2. c. 24.

Tea.

1. 1. p. 16.

with it by Land from *China*, and dispersed it all over the East. That the *Chinese* Musk is the worst of all, not only because the *Chinese* adulterate it several ways, but also because what is produced naturally in that Kingdom, is not comparable to what is in *Tibet*. All this is confirmed by the Testimony of the learned *Gohus*, and Father *Martini*. *Teixeira* says, the Musk that does not come from *China*, is always the best; and that the reason is, because *no llega a las manos de los Chinas, cuyo animo no sufre dexar alguna cosa en su pureza*.

At present the Kingdom of *Boutan* is the greatest Mart for Musk; This must have been a part of the ancient *Tibet*, or Country subject to the *Khan* of *Tibet*, and thence it is that the *Indian* Merchants fetch the best sort of this Perfume, whether in the Bladder or Cod, or out of it.

Our Author is the oldest and almost the only *Arab* that mentions the *Chinese* Drink, so universal in our Days over *Europe*, and known by the Name of *Tea*. But this is not the Name he gives it; for he calls it *Cha*, which comes nearer to the true *Chinese* Name, *Ghab* or *Charu*, than the Name we have for it. He says that it is an Herb or Shrub, more bushy than the Pomegranate-Tree, of a more taking Scent, but somewhat bitter to the Taste. That the *Chinese* boil Water and pour it scalding hot upon this Leaf, and that this Infusion preserves them from all Distempers. This, we own, is an imperfect Description, but is plain enough to evince that nothing can hereby be meant but the Plant we know by the Name of *Tea*, the same with the *Tcha Catayi*, or *Sini* of the Orientals. The Tree which bears this Leaf is but small, and must be classed with Shrubs, being no bigger than a small Pomegranate Bush; and even the Leaf of the one and the other are not much unlike. It has a pleasant kind of a violet Scent, is bitter to the Taste, and it is common for those who are fond of it, to imagine it does them good, and keeps them in Health. It is certain then, that Father *Trigaut* is mistaken when he imagines it is but of late date among the *Chinese*, because there is not, as he says, any Character in their Tongue to signify this Drink; for by the Testimony of the oldest of our Authors, who does not speak of it as any new thing, but as an Herb very much in vogue with them, nay, to that degree,

degree, that the Emperor thought fit to lay a Duty upon it, and to reserve all the Profits of it to himself; by this Testimony I say, it appears that the *Chinese* have been addicted to it above eight hundred Years; nor is it possible to believe with *William Piso*, that it grew a long time wild and uncultivated, or that the *Chinese* and *Japanese* have been but lately acquainted with its Vertues and the manner of preparing it, and with all the Advantages it is of, Advantages which are discovered daily more and more. This he says he was told by some *Dutch* Commanders, who had been a long time in the Country.

Father *Martini*, who has written more accurately of *China* than any other Person whatsoever, has no such Observations upon the use of this Leaf, which must make the rest look very suspicious and doubtful. He says it grows particularly in the Province of *Kiangnan* or *Nankin*, where the best of it is. It is, adds he, a small Leaf perfectly like that of the *Rhus*, *Coriarius*, or *Sumac* of the *Curriers*. I believe it is even of the same kind therewith; however, it grows not wild, but is domestic and cultivated: Nor is it a Tree but a Shrub which spreads out in little Branches, with a Blossom very much like that of the *Sumac*, except that the former inclines more to be yellow than the latter. It blows first in Summer, when it emits no great Scent, then follows a Berry which is first green, and afterwards blackish. In the Spring it is that they gather the Leaf to make their *Cha*, for then it is the most succulent and tender. The Preparation of these Leaves consists in gathering them, drying them by a slow Fire, rolling them upon a Cotton Mattress, and in packing them up in Tin Chests or Boxes, for the sake of preserving them, and the convenience of transporting them. This Description does not exactly square with that of Father *Alexander de Rhodes*, and Father *di Marini*, in their Accounts of *Tonquin*, and still less with those of *James Bont*, and *William Piso*, in his Additions to the fifth Book of his History; for he relates from what he was informed by the *Sieur Caron*, who was a considerable time in *China* and *Japan*; That this Plant grows no where but in *China*, *Japan*, and *Siam*, sprouting up to about the Height of the *Rose-Bush* of Europe. That the Stem and all the

Branches

REMARKS

Branches are covered with Blossoms, and little peaked Leaves indented all round, all in the same form, but of different size, so that they are of five different sorts. The greatest grow on the lower Branches, whence they diminish upward to the very top of the Bush. The smaller the Leaves are the more they are worth; so that a Pound of the largest shall sell but for five Pence, while that of the second size shall be worth fifty, those of the third size five Florins, of the fourth size, fifteen, and the fifth and least size of them, shall sell from one hundred to one hundred and fifty Florins the Pound. The same Author has it, that the Blossom of this Tree is white, and not unlike to the *Eglantine*, except that it has a different Scent. But it were a fruitless Task to insert other Descriptions on this head, which vary from these. This Leaf is now so well known in *Europe*, that we may judge for our selves, that it bears no likeness to the *European Sumac*, whose Leaf and Flower are extremely different. The several sizes of this Leaf according to which the Price is regulated, are by no means peculiar to this Shrub: but the difference of the Value is according to the time when it is gathered, whether when it first sprouts out, or after it has been some time upon the Stalk. Of the budding Leaf is the most exquisite Tea made, very little of which comes to us in *Europe*; the Flower is what is most universally esteemed, and is properly the *Chaw*. The fineness of Tea diminishes as the Leaf grows bigger and bigger, and also according as it is gathered in Season, or out of Season. It may be observed also, that as Tea grows not only in *China*, but in *Japan*, *Tonquin*, and even in the Kingdom of *Siam*, it is natural for Merchants to purchase at the cheapest Markets, whence we have but little of it that is really fine. Now, as the *Chinese*, *Japanese*, and even several Nations of the *Lewant*, not to mention the *Europeans*, make a great Consumption of Tea; they, it is probable, keep the best for themselves, which is very dear even in *China* itself, and as it easily loses its Flavor upon the least Accident, the Merchants must be unwilling to run the Risque of transporting it, except they are sure of turning it to a good Account. Most of them, therefore, buy it at *Japan*, where the *Dutch* have exported great Quantities; but in *Japan* it is not comparable to what grows in the Province

Province of *Kiangnang*. You have the Figure of this Bush in *Piso*, in the *China Illustrata*, and in the *Dutch Embassy*. It is mentioned in *Ramusio's Illustration* on some Passages in *Marco Polo*.

What our Travellers report of the Coco-Nut Tree, is confirmed by all Accounts, ancient and modern, and you have a very minute Description of it in *Pyrard, John de Barros*, and in many others. They all declare that this Tree alone, affords wherewithal to build a Ship, and to lade her when she is finished. The Trunk supplies them with Plank, Masts, Anchors, and Oars; the Fibres about the Nut itself, make a very valuable Cordage, because it never perishes in the Water. The Anchors made of the Wood of this Tree, are well enough for small Craft. The Nut itself affords a sweet, pleasant and milky Liquor, which, fermenting, becomes a Wine, a Vinegar, a Sugar, and even a kind of Brandy: Its Oil is sovereign in cases of the *Erysipelas* or *St. Anthony's Fire*, Tetters, and many other Ailments. In fine, this Tree alone supplies with Food, Habitation, Cloathing, and Commodities to export, if true it be, that the chief Trade of the *Maldives* is in the Articles they reap from the Coco-Nut. The *Arabs* call both the Nut and the Tree *Nargil*, whence the modern *Greeks* have ἀργέλιον, the word used by *Cosmas* the Monk, in his *Topography*. Besides the Authors we have cited, you may consult others who have dwelt on this Tree, as *Marco Polo*, *Lodovic Barthema*, *Barbosa*, *Garcias de Orta*, *A Costa*, *John Davis*, and others,

Coco-Nut Tree.

Decad. 3.
l. 3. c. 7.

AN INQUIRY

Into the Origin of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION in CHINA.

The Chinese had a Knowledge of Christianity before the Close of the ninth Century.



OUR two Authors supply us with a very ancient Testimony of the Existence of the Gospel in this vast Empire, before the close of the Ninth Century; for they observe that on the Revolution of the Year CCLXIV. of the *Hejra*, or the Year DCCCLXXVII. of *Christ*, when the City of *Canfu* was taken and sacked, a great Number of Christians were there put to the Sword, together with the Inhabitants of the Place. It appears also by the Dialogue between the Emperor of *China* and the *Arab*, in the *Second Account*, that they had a knowledge of *Jesus Christ* and his Apostles, and the Doctrine of the Gospel; since among the Images the Emperor shewed him, *Jesus* was represented with his Disciples, just as when he went up to *Jerusalem*:

Jerusalem: And what this Prince observed to the *Mohammedan Traveller* of the shortness of our Saviour's Days, here upon Earth, assures us he had some glimmering Light into the Gospel History; but it is a Matter of Intricacy to settle the Time when, and the Manner how Christianity made its way into *China*.

Those who first attempted this obscure Point, have, upon a very suspicious Foundation, advanced that the Apostle *St. Thomas* having planted the Gospel in the *Indies* transferred it thence into *China*. Father *Trigault* who wrought on the *Memoirs* of Father *Matthew Ricci* one of the first Missionaries that went to *China*, started this Notion from a Passage in the *Beit Gaza*, or *Breviary of the Syrian Churches*, where are these Words; *By St. Thomas the Error of Idolatry has been confounded in the Indies. By St. Thomas the Chinese and Ethiopians have been converted to the Knowledge of the Truth. By St. Thomas the Kingdom of Heaven hath taken its flight, and ascended quite up to China.* To this he adds another Authority, taken from a Collection of Canons, among which there is one that speaks of the Metropolitan of *China*, and this is all. Father *Kircher* has repeated the same, drawn the same Inferences therefrom, and has carried the Thing to that length, as to trace out the Way he went into *China*, and the Way he returned again into the *Indies*, where, according

The Opinion of those who believe St. Thomas preached there.

Chin. Illustr.

ding to the Tradition of the *Malabar Churches*, he suffered Martyrdom.

This Tradition very uncertain, and unknown to the Orientals.

Had the same Church any Tradition to commemorate that *St. Thomas* preached also in *China*, we might hearken thereto; but we have no such Testimony, nor do we find any Thing to confirm the same either in the Greek or Latin Authors; no, not even in the *Synaxaria* of the Greek Church, or of the Christians of the *Levant*, whose Authors have made no scruple to admit every Sort of Fable. That there have been Christians in *China* is not to be doubted, and as the Light of the Gospel was conveyed thither by the *Syrians* who were converted in the earliest Times of the Church, either by *St. Thomas* or some of his Disciples, this was sufficient to derive on him those Praises in the *Malabaric Breviary*; seeing he was, in some Sort, the Author of their Conversion, because he preached the Faith to those, who afterwards planted it in *China*. The Passage taken from the Collection of Councils is of no weight, and can only prove that there has been a Metropolitan in *China*, not that *St. Thomas* himself preached the Gospel there.

It has been embraced as indubitable by the Moderns. Mem. de la Chin. T. 2. p. 195.

Yet most who have touched on this Matter in our times, do, upon no other Testimony than *Trigaut* has offered, lay it down as an indubitable Truth, that *St. Thomas* himself preached in *China*; it is not doubted, says one of the last of them, but *St. Thomas* preached the Faith in the Indies,

Indies, and it is certain that in those Days the Indians were perfectly acquainted with China, whither almost all of them sent some Kind of Tribute. It is then very probable that this Apostle, who had this new World in charge, would not have neglected the finest Part of it, at that Time as renowned in the East as Italy was in Europe when the Roman Empire was in its Meridian. Therefore it may have been that he travelled thither in Person, or, at least, that he sent some of his Disciples thither. This Conjecture, which has all the Strength of an authentic Proof, has received an additional Force, from what has been remarked in the Chinese History of those Times; for it declares that a certain Man came into China and taught a heavenly Doctrine; he was not, according to the same, an ordinary or common Man; his Life, his Miracles, and his Vertues, attracted him the Admiration of all that knew him.

It is true, indeed, the common Tradition of the Malabar Churches has it, that St. Thomas preached in the Indies, and the same has been admitted into the Roman Martyrology, where it is said he suffered Martyrdom at Calamina; but there is no Memorial left of any City so called in those Parts, and the Conjectures which some of the Learned have advanced, concerning this Name, are quite intolerable. Father Kircher pretends we must read Calurmina, instead of Calamina, and that the Word signifies upon a Stone; because in that Country they still shew a Stone figured with

The Tradition concerning the Mission of St. Thomas in the Indies is most certain.

with some Crosses, and other Ensigns of Christianity, and upon this Stone, the *Malabars* tell you, he was pierced through with a Lance by a *Bramin*. Now although this Tradition is not altogether certain, it nevertheless carries some air of Authority with it, inasmuch as the Name of *San Thome*, which is imposed on the City of *Meliapor*, has, for many Ages past, been known not only among the *Europeans*, but also among the *Arabs*, both *Christian* and *Mohammedan*. For our two Authors speak of *Betuma* or *Batuma*, as of a Place known upon the *Indian* Shores, and this Word signifies the same with *Beit-Thoma*, the *House* or *Church*, of *St. Thomas*, just as the *Arabs* and *Sprians* write and pronounce *Bazbadi* for *Beitzabdi*, *Bagarmi* for *Beitgarne*, and so on. But we are no where told that this Apostle reached *China*, and such Points of Antiquity are not to be ascertained by Probability, when backed by no positive Authority; for by this Rule of Conjecture a *Portuguese* Writer has taken on him to prove that the same Apostle crossed over to *America*, and particularly that he was in *Brasil*, a Thing no Body had ever thought of before.

Simaen de Vasconcellos Noticias do Brasil. l. 2.

The Proofs offered by the modern Writers are dubious.

We are to the full as unwilling to grant what the Author of the *Memoirs* so positively asserts, namely, that the *Indians* who were taught by *St. Thomas*, and who were of *Malabar*, were perfectly acquainted with *China*, or, consequently, that they were *Tributaries* to that Country;

for

for we are quite ignorant of the History of those Countries. But what is infinitely more probable, and what the *Chinese* themselves acknowledge, and what our two Authors and almost all the *Arabs* jointly confirm, is that the *Chinese* had their Idolatry, and their Doctrine of Transmigration from the *Indians*, with almost all the Superstitions which prevail among the *Bonzes* and among the People. So that this Conjecture has not even Probability for Foundation; wherefore its Author reduces it to a bare Possibility; *perhaps he went thither himself*; which is not a whit more likely to have hapned. For the Life of Man had been unequal to such long Traverfes, almost without Respite; nor would have allowed of the Delays necessary to catechise such Numbers of Nations and Tribes, to found Churches sufficient, and to go through all the other painful Functions of the Apostolat, which must have required St. *Thomas* to sojourn a very considerable Time among them.

Now tho' we could discover any Passage, in the History of *China*, to favor this Notion, it would be but of little Weight; but, quite to the contrary, Father *Couplet* has often declared that the *Chinese* History says not the least Thing concerning the Gospel in that Country, no, not even of the Mission recorded in the *Chinese* and *Syriac* Inscription we shall come to hereafter. In his *Historical Abridgement* he only observes, that the Emperor *Mim-ti* who
f reigned

The Chinese History says nothing of St. Thomas.

reigned about sixty-four Years before the Birth of Christ, had a Dream wherein he beheld a golden Figure of a Man, of Gigantic Stature; and that this Emperor calling to mind, as they pretend, that saying of *Confucius*, *the Saint is in the West*; sent Embassadors to the *Indies* to enquire after the true Law; instead of which they brought back with them the pernicious Sect of the Idol *Fœe*, and the Doctrine of the *Metempsychosis* *.

There is no
Proof of
Christianity
in China
before the
seventh
Century.

Nor can we suppose *St. Thomas* is meant by the Preacher the Inscription calls *Ob-puen*, who came into *China* about the Year of Christ *DCXXXVI*. nor had any body done it before the Author, or Editor rather, of the last *Memoirs*.

We have no Proof then, that the Gospel was preached in *China* before this Epoch: For what many have written concerning the ancient Name the *Chinese* had for Christians, that it signifies the *Whippers of the Cross*, is of no positive Validity, since they may have thus called the Christians in the neighbouring Countries, tho' at the same time there had been none in *China*. *Hoei hoei*, which they say was their other Name, was equally applicable to

* *Occasione somnii quo oblata fuerit species aurata vi-ri gigantis, & memor dicti, ut putatur, a Confucio prolata, in Occidente extitit sanctus, queri jubet Imperator per suos legatos, veram legem ex Indiis. At enim Idoli Fœe pestifera secta cum Metempsychosi (proh dolor) in-vestita est.*

the Christians, Jews and Mohammedans; and as for the Name of *Yersai*, it is not *Chinese* but *Persian*. The first Appearance then of Christianity in *China*, that we know of, was in the Year of *Christ* DCXXXVI; and this is what we gather from an Inscription, which, in the Year of *Christ* MDCXXV, was found at *Signansu*, the Capital of the Province of *Chensi*, delineated in *Chinese* Characters, with several Lines of *Syriac*.

This is proved by the Chinese and Syriac Inscription.

As this *Chinese* and *Syriac* Inscription is a Monument of very great Importance, and the only certain Thing of the kind hitherto discovered in this Empire, it may not be amiss to explain the principal Passages of it, tho' that is what we hope to do more amply elsewhere. You have a representative Copy of this Inscription and Stone in Fath.

Kircher's China Illustrata, which he assures us is very exact, as indeed it seems to be; and *Hornius*, and some other Protestants, who would have had it a Forgery, without any, the least, Ground, have been refuted by some of their Brethren, who have cooler Heads, and more Understanding. It was in the Year MDCXXV that it was discovered in the Province of *Chensi*; and Fath. *Semedo*, Fath. *Boim*, Fath. *Martini*, and some other Jesuits, took notice of some Passages in it; but it was most unhappily explained.

Muller de Monum. Sienic.

In the Year MDCXXXV, when Fath. *Kircher* published his first Essay upon the *Coptic* Tongue, he inserted the *Syriac* Words, and gave a Translation of the *Chinese* Matter; but he was vastly out in his Reading

Prodrom. Copt.

and Interpretation of the *Syriac*; for mistaking a Word which signified *Priest*, and starting another which signified *Ethiopian*, he pretends to discover a Mission of *Coptic* and *Ethiopian* Priests, a Notion of the wildest sort. For they would have made use of their own Languages in this Inscription, or, at least, of one of them, seeing they are so distant from each other; and not of the *Syriac*, which was foreign to both. Again, neither *Copts* nor *Ethiopians*, who are *Jacobites*, would have preached up *Nestorianism*, which they abominate; and nothing is more certain than that all the Christians, for many Ages, in the *Indies* and the *Upper Asia*, have been *Nestorians*. Father Kircher also is mistaken upon the Word *Patriarch* in the *Syriac* Inscription, and leaves his Reader in the dark, unable to determin whether it should be the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, or the Patriarch of *Antioch*, when it happens to be neither the one nor the other.

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When the same Father publishes his *China Illustrata*, he makes mention of *Ethiopians* only; but his Translation, tho' different from the former, is not at all more conformable to the Original, which runs to this Effect: *In the Year of the Greeks MXCII. Mar Isdabuzid, Priest and Chorepiscopus of Cumdan, the Royal City of the East, otherwise called Milis, or Melecius, Priest of Balk, a City of Turkestan, erected this Stone Table, whereon is described the Mystery of the Life of our Saviour, and the preaching of our Fathers*

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and Geography are still more conspicuous.

*The Ex-
plication of
of this In-
scription.*

It appears that this Inscription is of the Year of *Jesus Christ* DCCLXXX, which corresponds with the Year MXCII of the *Greeks* or *Seleucidaë*, and that Father *Kircher*, who makes it the Year of the same MLXXXII. is ten Years out in his Account. He that speaks, was originally a Priest of, or, at least, came from *Balk*, a famous City, which many Geographers place in *Tokarestan*, or in *Turkestan*, two Names, tho' often confounded together, belonging to two distinct Provinces. He was at that time *Chorepiscopus* of *Cumdan*, the principal City of the *Eastern Kingdom*, or of the *Eastern Court*. The *Chorepiscopi* are very well known in the *Eastern Church*, who has several Offices for their Consecration; and the Word being distinctly expressed in the Table, it is hard to conceive why *Fath. Kircher* translated it either *Archbishop* or *Bishop's Vicar*.

*What we
are to un-
derstand by
the City of
Cumdan.*

*Geograph.
Nubi.*

Cumdan is certainly *Nankin*, at that time the imperial Seat of *China*, as well as when our two *Arabs* were in the Country. This City has had several Names, as Father *Martini* observes; the *Arabs* called it *Cumdan*, as appears by *Yacuti*, *Ebn Wardi*, and the *Nubian Geographer* tho' scarce to be known in the *Latin Translation*. For the *Maronites*, who undertook that Work, so unequal to their Strength, imagined *Cumdan* to be the Name of a River, whereas the *Kiang* is meant, which the Author sufficiently gives us to understand, saying,
It

It is the largest River in China, and calling it the River of Cumdan, because it passes through that City. This Name is so very often repeated in the one *Account* and in the other, that we can have no Doubt concerning it, and especially as we find it in the old *Arabian Geographers*. For, if *Abulfeda*, and some other Authors mention it not, but have a different Name for the Capital of this Empire, and cannot even settle upon that among themselves; it is because they wrote after the Throne was translated to *Pekin*. They say *Nankin* signifies the *Southern Court*, and in the *Syriac Inscription* *Cumdan* is called the *Eastern Court*; the reason is plain, for, to those who came from *Mesopotamia*, *Nankin* was not only the most distant, but the most Easterly also.

Ebn War-
di, Yacuti.

The Catholic Patriarch, *Hananjashuak*, was certainly the Patriarch of the *Nestorians*, as may be proved by History, which has two Patriarchs so called; the first consecrated about the Year of *Christ* DCLXXXVI; the second about the Year DCCLXXIV. Now the Inscription was cut in the Year DCCLXXXII, and, consequently, in the Life-time of this last, or a short time after, if, as the same History records, he sat but a little more than four Years. We shall however take a time professedly to demonstrate that the Date of his Consecration ought to be put some Years backward; but tho' two or three were wanting to make it quadrate with this Inscription, it would not at all lose of its authenticity;

Who was
the Catholick
Patriarch
in the In-
scription.

for the Patriarch may have been dead at *Bagdad*, and they have known nothing of the Matter in *China*. Acts and public Writings are, every Day, drawn up in the *Indies*, and in *America*, with the Years of the Popes and Kings, after they are dead; because the News thereof cannot reach them in time, but these Writings are genuin nevertheless.

Of the Title of Catholic.

Catholici Patriarchæ titulum nemo non Episcoporum Oecumenicorum sibi ab olim sumpsit.

The Title of Catholic, added to that of Patriarch, was never assumed but by the *Nestorians*, and when *Kircher* says the Patriarch of *Alexandria* did the same, and *Muller* applauds his Conjecture, adding, "there never was any one of the *Oecumenic* Bishops that did not take this "Title upon him," they are greatly in the wrong. For what can *Muller* mean by *Oecumenic Bishops*? If he conceived them to be the Bishops of great Sees, none but the Patriarchs of *Constantinople* ever styled themselves *Oecumenical Patriarchs* since *John the Faster*; and those of *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, or *Jerusalem*, whether *Orthodox* or not, never assumed this ambitious Title at all. But it seems *Muller* took *Catholic* and *Oecumenic* to have the same Import, whereas they are of very different Meaning; it was in the Days of *Justinian*, that they began to give the Title of Catholic to those Prelates who were superior in Dignity to *Metropolitans*; and who had Authority over several of them, and might consecrate them without Recourse had to the Patriarch of *Antioch*. At first they were two; him
of

of *Persia*, and him of *Armenia*, who are still retained in the *Jacobite* Church; but the *Nestorians* of *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon*, withdrawing Obedience from the Orthodox they succeeded, and divesting them of their Authority, under the Countenance of the last Kings of *Persia*, arrogated to themselves the Style of Catholic, and have kept it ever since, adding Patriarch thereto, as they were the Heads of all the *Nestorian* Communion. From this same Word the *Arabs* have formed their *Jatelik*, the two Letters being the same but for the Position of the diacritic Point, while *Marco Polo*, conforming to the *Venetian* Pronunciation, has expressed it by *Zatolic*. In short, it became so very peculiar to the *Nestorian* Patriarchs, that the *Jacobites*, out of Hatred to them, tho' they themselves had real Catholics in their own Church, have for five hundred Years past given them the Title of *Mofrian*.

Muller, and those, who, with him, imagined that the *Catholic*, mentioned in the Inscription may have been the Patriarch of *Alexandria* did not so much as dream of one thing, which should nevertheless have first presented itself to the Consideration of those who had but the least Acquaintance with the Eastern Churches; and this is Why any Ecclesiastics of the Church of *Alexandria* should have made use of the *Syriac*, which was of no Predominance in *Egypt*, either in common Discourse, or in the Offices of the Church. They never could have assigned a Reason for this, and consequently they should have had

*Muller's
Mistake
upon this
Head.*

had some Thoughts of the Patriarch of *Antioch*, and him of the *Nestorians*; and accordingly have fixed upon this last, seeing the former never assumed the Title of *Catholic*, and that those who, in his Church, were distinguished thereby, were subordinate to him.

*A Proof
from the
Date.*

The Date of the *Grecian* Year should also have suggested to these learned Men, That the Inscription could not have been ordered by Ecclesiastics sent from the Church of *Alexandria*, nor from that of *Ethiopia*, with whom this Epoch was not in use, but that of *Dioclesian*, or of the *Martyrs*.

*The Names
plain.*

There is no Obscurity as to the Names of the Persons, except what *Kircher* has raised by his faulty Reading. The Names are perfectly *Syrian*, and common enough among the *Nestorians*; a Bishop, *Chorepiscopi*, *Papas*, who have the same Authority; Priests and Deacons, who, very probably, did at that time constitute the Christian Clergy of *China*. *Muller*, who has compared these Names with those in the *Prodromus*, might have spared himself the Trouble; for all the Difference arises from some Names, in the first Work, ill read, and not in the Original.

*Examina-
tion of the
Chinese
Inscription.*

Let us now examin the *Chinese* Part of this Inscription, according to the Translation of some able Jesuits, more to be relied on far than *Muller*, who, in some Places, presumes to restore the *Chinese* Text, and to alter the Version. This, is a sort of an Article we will not dwell on;

on; tho', by the way, it is hard to conceive how a Man that has never been out of *Europe*, should be able to play the Critic upon a *Chinese* Inscription, only by the Help of a few Lexicons; to have done with this, we will take notice of what is most essential in each Column.

The first lays down the Ground-work of the Christian Faith, the Existence of a God-head, in three Persons, Creator of all Things. It is remarkable that these *Syrians* use the word *Aloko*, which they, most certainly, did because they could find no word in the *Chinese* Tongue to convey the Idea the Christians have of the true God: But *Muller*, who fancies he knows more than any body finds you out four others, which he pretends will answer the end, *For we must not imagin*, says he, *the Chinese have no adequate Name to signify God, tho' they have not the ineffable Name of Jehovah.* And yet *Ricci*, *Martini* and many others were of a contrary Opinion, while those, of our Days, who side with *Muller*, have not been able to prove what they say. His turn upon the ineffable Name is quite puerile; for without knowing the Pronunciation it may have had among the *Hebrews*, we have, through Mercy, an Idea of the Sovereign Entity. It is astonishing, That after so many learned Men, even Protestants, have unveiled the Absurdity there is in the Pronunciation of *Jehovah*, there should still be People to stickle for it.

The first Article which has Regard to the Existence and Name of God.

Capell. de Nom. Elohim, &c.

Now

Now for the Remark he afterwards makes upon the Name of God expressed in *Syriac*, and which he modestly offers as a Conjecture: *It is likely then*, says he, *the Author of the Inscription was of a Church that spoke Syriac*. Nothing in the World more certain; and hence it might naturally have been inferred that the Patriarch, therein mentioned, could never have been him of *Alexandria*. But the date, and so many *Syrian* Names might equally have convinced him, not only that the Church of this Clergy, that is, of the Christians of the Country, spoke *Syriac*, but that it was also the sacred Language in which they celebrated divine Service, and drew up their Ecclesiastical Writings.

Of the second and third Column.

The second and third Column continue to explain the Mystery of the Creation, the fall of the first Man by the Seduction of the Devil, who is called *Satan*, a Name quite foreign to the *Chinese* Tongue, and the general Corruption of Mankind by Sin and Wickedness.

Of the fourth concerning Jesus Christ.

The fourth explains the Advent of Jesus Christ by his Incarnation, to the following effect: *Donec Personarum trium una communicavit se ipsam clarissimo venerabilissimoque Mixio, operiendo abscondendoque veram majestatem, simul homo prodiit in sæculum*. These words sufficiently express the *Nestorian* way of expounding the Mystery of the Incarnation; they rejecting the Union of the Word and Man, except by Inhabitation, by a Plenitude of Grace, superior to that of all other Saints. This conformity of

of Creed is easily comprehended, by comparing the Passages in *Elias the Catholic*, and other Divines who have been cited upon several Occasions.

In the same Column are these words: *Spiritus de cælis significavit letitiam*, which means the Annunciation by an Angel. *Virgo sæmina peperit sanctum in Tacin*, which must here signify *Judæa*: *Clarissima constellatio annunciavit felicitatem*, *Potu* (Reges ex illa terra orientali) *viderunt claritatem*, & *vererunt offerre munera subjectionis completa, his decem quatuor sanctarum*. This plainly points at the Appearance of the Star to the Wise Men, and the Adoration they came to pay to *Jesus Christ*: but as what follows is very dark, let us see how the Interpreters have commented thereupon: *ut lex & prophetiæ viginti quatuor Prophetarum adimplerentur*; according to *Kircher*, This alludes to the four major, and the twelve minor Prophets, to which if you add Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Job, Moses, Samuel, David, and Zachary, the Father of St. John the Baptist, you will have the twenty four Prophets complete. *Muller* likes this Exposition, and only remarks that some have thought the Chinese Word might signify *Prophecies* as well as *Prophets*. This is trifling enough, except we lay hold on it to shew how little we are to depend upon Versions from the Chinese Writings; for this Diversity may produce very different Meanings, and no one can be fond of so odd an Interpretation. This number of twenty four Prophets

Elias Nib. MSS. Arab. Amrus. Mathæi.

Other Mysteries therein noted, and the Completion of the Prophecies.

Chin. Illust.

Twenty four Prophets.

Prophets is equally unknown to the Synagogue and to the Church, as well as that of the twice twelve Prophecies, nor ever did any Man name among the Prophets the Persons *Kircher* has introduced.

*The true
Explication
of this Pas-
sage, and
Muller's
Mistake.*

It is easy to perceive that by the Completion of the Prophecies, or of what the Prophets foretold, these *Syrians* understood the Predictions in the Old Testament: this is evident by what follows of the twenty seven Books the Apostles left behind them, which make up the New Testament; and so the number of twenty four must relate to the Books of the Old. The *Syrians*, whether *Orthodox*, *Jacobite*, or *Nestorian*, have their Version from the *Hebrew Text*, which contains twenty four Books, commonly by the *Jews* called the *Twenty four*. This is the mighty Mystery our Critic could not unfold; at the same time that he is mightily disturbed at the twenty seven Books of the New Testament, because, truly, *Kircher* reckons fourteen Epistles of *St. Paul*; for my part, says *Muller*, I can make out but thirteen, and there is some doubt concerning that to the *Hebrews*. We very well know the *Lutherans* make a doubt of it, but the *Syrians* and all the other Eastern Christians are satisfied it is canonical, as appears not only by their Copies of the New Testament, but also by the Enumeration their Divines and Canonists make of the sacred Books. If *Muller* was ignorant of so common and certain a Fact, he

was

was but ill qualified to talk of the Religion of the Orientals.

In the sixth Column mention is made of Baptism, which cleansing the Body purifies the Soul; and then according to the Translation word for word; *Disperſi in quatuor partes mundi*; we are not ſure whether theſe words have reference to the Apoſtles or to the whole Body of Chriſtians; but it is moſt likely they are meant of theſe laſt, by what follows; *Ad congregandos & pacificandos ſine labore pulſant ligna, timoris, pietatis, gratitudiniſque voces perſonando*. Here we have an inſtance of the Imperfection of the Chineſe Tongue; for very able Translators have been at a loſs to determine, whether theſe Words relate to the preceding, or to the ſucceeding. But it is beyond Diſpute that they intend the Ceremonies of the Chriſtians, by this time in ſubjection to the Mohammedans, as they were in the Days of Hananjaſbuah, ſeeing he was appointed by the Kalif Mahadi, who dyed in the Year of the Hejra CLXIX, and of Chriſt DCCLXXXV. At this time the Chriſtians were not allowed the uſe of Bells, but were obliged, as they are at preſent, to ſtrike upon wooden Inſtruments inſtead thereof; and this is moſt likely to be Senſe of the Chineſe Words.

But Muller diſcovers a more exalted Meaning; he will have it that *Mo*, which the Jeſuits render *Ligna*, ſignifies the Devil, and that ſo it muſt be altered, *ſine labore pulſant Diabolum*; and that this Expreſſion

Of the
ſixth Co-
lumn.

Muller's
Conjecture
intolerable.

pression is to be understood of Exorcism. We have already declared, That those who fancy they have acquired the *Chinese* Language by poring in their Closets, deserve not to be heard in opposition to such of the Learned as have patiently and painfully studied it a long time in the very Country. To say no more of this, I would ask if any Christian, in any Language whatsoever, has made use of an Expression like that of *beating or striking upon the Devil*, with a view to the Exorcisms of Baptism.

The Ceremonies and Customs of the Christians specified in the Inscription.

The next Columns mention the several Ceremonies practised by the Christians, That they sacrifice with the face to the East, that seven times a Day they pray for the Quick and the Dead, that they offer Sacrifice upon the first Day of the Week, and that they purify the Heart by the Remission of Sin. Then as to their exterior, That they wear long Beards, that they shave the upper part of the Head, that they have no train of Slaves, and that they hoard not riches, but that they bestow great Alms, and that they fast. We may plainly discern all the Practises of the Eastern Christians amidst the enigmatical Expressions of the *Chinese*; the Passages *Muller* heaps together from several Authors, are by no means to the point, and the less as none of them are Orientals, who, as it happens, are those he should have consulted.

Muller's Animadversion upon the Eucharist.

He makes a most grave Remark upon the Word Sacrifice; saying there is no *Chinese* Word to signify the *Sacrifice without Blood*.

I do not find, continues he, that they made Use of the Word Sacrifice, or that they believed they offered the real Body and Blood of Jesus Christ,* into which the Bread of the Eucharist was converted by Transubstantiation. If this Inscription had been a Theological Tract in form, we might have required it to be more explicit and circumstantial, as well upon this Head as upon all the rest; the Matter is, what the Syrian Clergy believed concerning this Sacrifice. Fath. Kircher had cited three or four Oriental Passages from *Ecchellensis*, to prove these Christians believed a real Mutation of the Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ: But Muller cannot discover either the Sacrifice without Blood, or Transubstantiation in the Chinese Tongue, adding, That he cannot perceive this Doctrin to have been authorised by Liturgies, or by the Testimonies exhibited by Kircher. And yet there are above fifty Oriental Liturgies, not to mention other Books of public Devotion, where the Term of the Sacrifice without Blood, is often and often repeated; but we do not there meet with Transubstantiation; by the same Rule it may be proved, that the Roman Church disclaims it; for the express Term is no where in the Canon of the Mass. To be plain, it is evi-

* At quod Sacrificum appellaverint, quodque putarint se ita verum Corpus & Sanguinem obtulisse, ut Eucharisticus Panis per Transubstantiationem talis evaserit, eundem non invenio, p. 58.

dent by *Muller's* Way of talking of the Liturgies, that he never saw any of them, much less the Works of the Theological Writers. Those who have written in *Syriac* and *Arabic*, could not use the Word *Transubstantiation*; because there are no Compounds in those two Tongues; but they have declared this Transformation to be *from Substance to Substance*. These are the Terms in the Exposition of Faith by *Elias III.* of the Name, Patriarch of the *Nestorians*, and one of the Successors to the Person mentioned in the *Syriac* Inscription. Now as these *Syrians* who went to *China*, did most certainly believe, as their Patriarchs did, *Muller* should have turned over the Writings of the *Nestorian* Church, to have informed himself of their Creed, and not have been satisfied with the dark Expressions of the *Chinese* Monument, where not a Word was said of it.

Concern-
ing the
Work
Muller
promises, in
order to
prove that
the Eastern
Christians
did not be-
lieve the
real Pre-
sence, &c.

But having thus decided the Case, he stops short; because he was to discuss the Point in a Work apart, to be penned by Order of his Superiors. It is not known that he ever committed this intended Work to the Press; but without so much as seeing it, we may pronounce it a Piece of no vast Depth; a Man who was a Novice to the most common Things relating to the *Eastern* Christianity, who approved the grossest Mistakes of the first Translator, and who imagined that three or four Passages, contained all the Proof the Catholics could produce, touching the belief of *Orientals* upon
the

the *Eucharist*; such a Man I say, was but slenderly prepared for the Task, by far more difficult than the History and Geography necessary to illustrate our Inscription, concerning which, he has advanced nothing but has been demonstrated to be false.

In the Sequel of this Inscription, there is some Talk of the first preaching of the Gospel in China, and it is said, that in the Time of *Taizan-ven*, a holy Man called *Olopuen* or *Lopuen*, came from *Tacin*, conducted by blue Clouds, and by observing the Course of the Winds. Those who have laboured at the Chinese Chronology, make this Date to correspond with the Year of *Jesus Christ*, DCXXXVI. Kircher has it, That he guided himself by the Winds, with the help of Sea-Charts, a Thing more easy to say than to prove; adding, that *Tacin* is *Judæa*, though he himself, and the rest agree it is a Name which belongs as well to *Syria* in general as to *Palestine*.

Of Olopuen the first Preacher of the Gospel in China.

Father Couplet, in his *Chronological Abridgment*, speaking of this King, delivers himself to this Effect, * "The Histories of the Country report, that in the XIII.

The Testimony of Couplet.

* *Memorant Chronica anno Imperli VII. pervenisse ex longinquis Regionibus variarum gentium legatos, oris habitu corporisque admodum peregrino, & nunquam antea Sinis viso: quin adeo gloriatum fuisse Imperatorem quod suis primum temporibus, homines capillo rufi, oculisque viridibus, glaucos interpretor, ditionem Sincam adiissent. Certum videtur eos ipsos fuisse, quos lapideum in Provincia Xensi Monumentum, effossum Anno 1625. ætati nostræ.*

" Year of his Reign, there came Ambassa-
 " dors from very remote Parts, and from
 " several Nations ; and that they were of a
 " very extraordinary turn of Countenance,
 " and of a very foreign Appearance, such
 " as had never till then been seen in *China*.
 " That the King accounted it a Glory for
 " him, that in his Time there should ap-
 " pear Men with sandy Hair and green
 " Eyes, blue, *that is, says the same Fa-*
 " *ther,* who continues : It seems evident,
 " that these are the same mentioned by
 " the *Chinese* Monument, found in the Year
 " MDCXXV. in the Province of *Chensi*,
 " concerning which, you may consult *Kir-*
 " *cher,* and an *Arabian* Manuscript in his
 " most Christian Majesty's Library, where-
 " in it is expressly said, That about that
 " Time, certain Missionaries were sent to
 " *China* by the Catholic Patriarch of the
 " *Indies* and *China*, who resided at *Musol*."

Couplet's
 Confession.

It is of Importance to note, that by the
 Testimony of even Couplet himself, there is
 no such Mention made of this Mission in
 the *Chinese* History, and that he owned to
 me and to others, That what he had inser-
 ted in his *Chronological Abridgment*, was
 borrowed from the Inscription. What he
 afterwards says, of an *Arabian* Manuscript,

prodidit. -- De hoc consule Kircheri Sinam Illustratam,
& vetus MSS Arabicum quod asservatur in Regia Galli-
arum Bibliotheca, ubi diserte scribitur circa idem tempus,
missos esse Evangelii pracones in Sinam a Catholico Pa-
triarcha India & Sina qui in urbe Mosul degebat, P. 55.
 which

which is no where to be found, and never was in the King's Library, he had from the late Mr. *Thevenot*, who how he came to dream of such a Thing is more than can be told. There is a Manuscript indeed, but it does not say that the Catholic of *Musol* or rather of *Bagdad*, sent Missionaries to *China*, tho' you therein find the Name of *Hananjashuab*, in the Series of the *Nestorian* Patriarchs, and are told that he lived nearly about the Time mentioned upon the *Chinese* Stone. It is a Mistake also, to call him Catholic Patriarch of the *Indies* and of *China*; for Catholic was the usual Title to which Patriarch was annexed; and the Metropolitans of the *Indies* and of *China* were subordinate to him, as may be gathered from the *Notitia* of the *Nestorian* Churches.

MSS Arab. in Biblioth. Colbertina.

But to return to the Inscription, it alone acquaints us, that so early as the Year DCXXXVI. the Gospel had been preached in *China*, by Priests from *Syria*, whose Chief was *Olopuen*. This is all we know of the Matter; the *Chinese* History has no Words concerning it, and it is no hard Matter to perceive, that this Name is *Chinese*, and that it was imposed on this Preacher of the Word, as the Custom still is in our Days, for all those who go to *China* to receive new Names. *Muller*, full of his Conjectures, fancies these Preachers were Christians of *Persia*, who fled the Persecution of the *Arabs*; but long before *Mohammed* there were Christians in *Persia*,

We have no Authority to rely on but the Inscription itself.

*Hist. Nest.
in MSS.
Arab.*

*We learn
nothing in
the Ara-
bic Wri-
tings con-
cerning
Olopuen,
who can-
not have
been St.
Thomas,*

and in the *Upper Asia*, protected by the last Kings; and no sooner was *Persia* conquered, than the *Nestorians*, who were almost the only Christians of that Country, obtained very ample Privileges at the Hands of the Kalif Omar, together with the free and entire Exercise of their Religion, all which is expressly recorded in History.

It must be confessed then, that we are furnished with no Light in *Arabian*, *Syrian*, or *Chinese* Authors, to shew us who this *Olopuen* may have been; we can only say that he entered *China* in the Seventh Century. He cannot then have been *St. Thomas*, as some have thought: And yet *Kircher* and many others, account it an indubitable Fact, That this Apostle beamed out the Rays of the Gospel there, after he had preached in the *Indies*. This Father has even traced out the Track he must have followed in his Journey thither from the *Indies*; but his Notions as to this Matter are quite intolerable, and can never be brought to quadrate with the Geography of those Parts.

*The Track
Kircher
will have
St. Tho-
mas to
have follo-
wed,*

In the first Place, he brings *St. Thomas* to a Town of *Persia*, called *Soldania* or *Soltania*, which is known to be in the Province of *Beladahebel*, or the Country of *Mountains*, and to have been built by *Mukamed* the Son of *Argun Khan*, in the Year of the *Hejra* DCCX. and of *Jesus Christ* MCCCX. Thence he conducts him to *Cabul*, a City famous for Trade; and thence to another he calls *Casurstan*, or *City of Infidels*, be-
cause

cause inhabited by Christians only, whom the *Mohammedans* call *Kafars* or *Infidels*. No *Arabian* Geographer or *Persian*, has taken Notice of this Town, so that *Kircher* for this depends only on the Authority of *Benet Goez* a Brother *Jesuit*, who came by Land from *China* to the *Indies*; but by the Manner of spelling this Name, as it stands in the *China Illustrata*, it seems evident that this *Casurstan* is owing to a Mistake in reading the Name of the Province of *Curistan*, or *Cuzistan*, which is a Part of the ancient *Susiana*, which was usually crossed by the Merchants of *Mesopotamia* and *Persia*, who went by Land to *Tibet*. The Matter, however, was not to exhibit a Diary of *St. Thomas's* Travels this Way, tho' the Road pricked down, had been as plausible as this is not.

All the Proofs hitherto offered to persuade us *St. Thomas* preached in *China*, are founded upon mere Conjecture only, whereas this Monument, whose Authority cannot well be contested, assures us, the first Knowledge the *Chinese* had of the Evangelic Faith, was not before the VII Century; nor is there the least Footstep of the contrary in Ecclesiastical Antiquity. It remains now, that we enquire who these first Missionaries may have been, a Point as yet not sufficiently cleared up.

The Observations already made upon the *Syrian* Words, at once declare, that this Mission consisted of *Syrians*, that they were of the same Church with those who erect-

This first Mission consisted of Syrians.

ed this Monument to commemorate the first Appearance of the Gospel in *China*, seeing they call them *their Fathers*; and that they professed Obedience to the *Catholic*, and that his Name was *Hananjashuak*.

Again, there is not the least Room to imagin these first Preachers were not *Syrians*, seeing that the Date which is as the Seal of what is contained in the Inscription, as also the Signatures, which have an absolute Affinity with those still in Use with the *Eastern Churches* in all Writings of Record, are in the *Syrian Tongue*, the holy Language, wherein they celebrated Divine Service, and transacted all Church Matters. If the Priests and others mentioned in the Body of the Inscription had been of *Egypt*, the Date and their Names had been written in *Greek*, or in *Coptic*. They were then of the same Church with the first Preachers, and subordinate to the same Patriarchs, a Thing of the plainest Visibility, seeing they looked on their Predecessors as *their Fathers*.

The *Syrians* of different *Communi- ons*; and those who went to *China* were *Nestorians*.

In former times there were *Syrians* of different Sects, as at this day, *Melchites*, or *Orthodox*, *Nestorians*, and *Jacobites*: Now if we can discover the Seet of the Person styled Patriarch, we shall be infallibly guided to the Communion of the Clergy who acknowledged him their Superior. The very Title therefore of *Catholic*, to which Patriarch is annexed, is a demonstrative Proof, that he was the *Catholic* of the *Nestorians*, who was Patriarch in respect

spect of them, as being subordinate to no other; and the rather, as neither the Patriarch of *Antioch*, nor him of *Alexandria* ever assumed the Style of Catholic. But the dispute is incontestably decided by the Testimony of the *Nestorian* Church her self, who acknowledges an *Hananjasbuah* among her Catholics, or Patriarchs, and declares he lived about the time this Monument was erected. Several of the Names which fill up the Margins of the Stone, are compounded of two Words, a Custom more prevalent among the *Syrians* of *Mesopotamia*, and the *Nestorians*, than with any of the rest; and this added to the Arguments before offered, confirms these Preachers to have been of their Communion. And what still proves it more and more, is the manner of explaining the Mystery of the Incarnation; for through the Clouds of the *Chinese* Style, we discern the Doctrine of this Sect, which admits the Union but by the Inhabitation of the Word, and the Communication of his Dignity and infinite Power.

This is all we learn from the *Syriac* Inscription; but the *Chinese* Words contain a more minute Detail of the Progress of this Mission. It is there said that this *Olopuen* from *Tacin*, that is, from *Syria* or *Judea*, did in the Year which coincides with the DCXXXVI of *Jesus Christ*, in the Reign of *Tai sum-ven*, promulgate the Law of the true God; that this Prince approving of it, commanded it to be proclaimed

all

The Chinese part of the Inscription alone contains what is said of the Progress of Christianity.

O R I G I N of the

all over *China*, and the Emperor's Edict to that End is summarily referred to, bearing Date DCXXIX; that at the same time a Church was built in the Royal City of *Ininfan*. That some Years afterwards, in DCLI. under the Emperor *Cao-sun*, the Christian Faith was known in every Province of *China*. That in the Years DCXCIX. and DCCXIII. the *Bonzes*, or idolatrous Priest, raised some tumult against the Christians; but that the same was quelled by the Authority of the Emperor *Yven-sun-ci-tao*. That in the Year DCCXLVII. there came from *Tacin* another Priest, called *Kiebo*; that the Emperor *So-cum-ven-mi* had built several Churches in the Year DCCLVII. that his Successors were, in like manner, Friends to Christianity; and that at length this Stone was erected in Commemoration of all these Facts in the second Year of the Emperor *Tam*, and DCCLXXXII. of *Christ*. You may read it at length in *Kircher's China Illustrata*, but this is a Summary of the whole.

Whereupon
it is said
the Chinese
History con-
cerns not it
self with
Foreign
Matters.

What Couplet relates in his *Historical Abridgment*, is borrowed from this Inscription, and he himself confesses there is no Mention at all made of the Event in *Chinese History*; and the reason is, because it concerns not itself with what belongs to Strangers. But this Reason is liable to some Confutation; for this same History records the Embassy sent into the *Indies* in quest of the Saint pretended to have been

been foretold by *Confucius* ; it records also the evil Result of this Inquiry, whence sprang among them the worship of *Foe*, Idolatry, and the Doctrin of Transmigration. The knowledge of Christianity, the Root it took over the whole Empire, and the Imperial Edicts in Favor thereof, were not in the least more Foreign to the *Chinese* Affairs, than the new Religion of *Foe*. It is then on all Hands agreed, that the *Chinese* History, and that also of the *Nestorian* Patriarchs, is totally silent upon this Head : Wherefore we are reduced to the Necessity of wholly relying on the Incision upon the *Chinese* Stone ; but particularly upon the Date the Translators have fixed to the Year of *Christ* DCXXXVI. for the Appearance of the first Preacher of the Gospel in these Parts, who is *Olopuen*.

We have heretofore remarked that we have no Assistance, whereby to get acquainted with this *Olopuen* ; and that to all Appearance it is a *Chinese* Name, imposed on him in the Country, as the Custom still is in Cases of the like Nature ; for this Name is by no means *Syriac*, nor has it any Affinity therewith. All therefore we can deduce from certain consequences, is, that this same Preacher, and the other mentioned after him in the Inscription, were of the very same Church with those who erected this Monument, seeing they call them *their Fathers*. They then paid Obedience to the Catholics, or Patriarchs of the *Nestorians*, the Predecessors of *Hananj-asbua*h,

It is rational to think that Olopuen was a Syrian of the same Church with those who ordered the Inscription.

asbuah, and were consequently of Communion with him; and as certain it is that he was a *Nestorian*, the others must have been so likewise, the Title of Catholic prefixed to that of Patriarch, being quite peculiar to the *Nestorians*.

*A Series of
the Nesto-
rian Patri-
archs of
those
Times.*

From the Year DCXXXVI. the first Epoch noted in the *Chinese* Inscription, down to *Hananjasbuah* the second of the Name, under whom this Inscription was dated in the Year DCLXXX. or two Years afterwards, according to the Computation of those who translated the *Chinese*, the History of the *Nestorians* has the following Patriarchs, *Jasbuaiah*, *Mar-Am-ba*, *Jasbuaiah*, *Gregory*, *John*, *Hananjasbuah*, another *John* intruded, *Selibazaka*, *Phiton*, *Mar-Ala*, *Surin* or *Surenas*, *James*, and *Hananjasbuah* the second of that Name. At first they resided at *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon*, which were considered as one and the same City, by the *Arabs* called *Modain*. He who stands foremost in this List, was consecrated in the Reign of *Siroes* the *Parricide*, who died towards the Year DCXXXIV. *Ardesbir*, who succeeded him, reigned but one Year; and *Buran* the Daughter of *Cosroes*, who according to the *Persian* Historians, was the only Survivor of the Royal House, ascended the Throne. The *Nestorians* have it, that she sent *Jasbuaiah* in quality of her Ambassador to the *Greek* Emperor, and charged with considerable Presents; that he met with a very gracious Reception; that he made his Con-
fession

fession of Faith, and that he celebrated the Liturgy in presence of the Emperor, who received the Sacrament at his Hands : A Circumstance worthy of just as much belief, as is due to many of the same Stamp in their History. By the Testimony of the Greek Authors, and particularly of *Theophanes*, it is certain that this Queen maintained Peace with the Greek Emperors, and that she ruled with great Wisdom. They call her *Buran* as doth the *Nestorian* History. The *Persians* call her *Turan*, and *Turan-docht*, and exhibit a Series of Kings and one Queen called *Arzemi-docht*, before *Isdejerd*, under whom *Persia* fell a Conquest to the fortunate *Mohammedans*, whereas the *Nestorian* Accounts, make her the immediate Successor to *Buran*, or *Turan-docht*, in consideration that the intervening Princes sat but a short time, and in the midst of great Commotions. The *Persian* History before the Conquest is extremely intricate, whether we consult the *Persians* themselves, or the *Arabs*, and the several Copies are not of one Mind, as to the Name of this Queen *Turan-docht*, by others called *Buran*; as in the History of the *Nestorians*. *Touan* is a Name *in nubibus*, for which we stand indebted to *Schikard's* mistaken reading; all that he says in his *Tarich Regum Persiæ*, so much famed, vanishes away to nothing, or is reducible to very Trifles, if we except what he borrows from *Teixeira*, and the *Fukhassin*; but we cannot dwell longer upon this Head, without wandering into

Emir.
 Cond.
 deb. Ta-
 rik. Ko-
 zid. Tei-
 xeira. p.
 208.

into a Digression, which would lead us too far astray.

What is to be found in the History of the Nestorians touching the last Kings of Persia.

We will insist therefore on no more than what the History of the *Nestorian Churches* adds concerning the Patriarch *Jashuaiab*. It informs us that he lived in the Reign of the last King *Isdejerd*, and that he survived under the *Kalif Omar*, the Son of *Al Kittab*, the third *Kalif*, at whose Hands he obtained an ample Protection, as well as an Exemption from all manner of Taxes for himself and his. The same History has it, that, while *Isdejerd* was yet living, he sent Presents and Letters to *Mohammed*, or, as others express themselves, to the General of the *Arabian Army*, to request his Favour, a Step, which though it had like to have cost him his Life, procured him the enjoyment of his wish. *Omar* began his Reign, as *Kalif*, in the thirteenth Year of the *Hejra*, and *Modain* was taken in the Years DCXXXIV. and DCXXXII, of *Jesus Christ*. This last Date therefore quadrates with the Date of the *Chinese Inscription*, and the arrival of *Olopuen* in *China*, if the Supputation of the Translators be right. And yet the *Nestorian Writings* make no mention of Ecclesiastics sent to *China*, or into the Provinces of the *Upper Asia* about these Times; and very hard it is to comprehend, how amidst the Broils which then distracted *Persia*, and the very extraordinary Revolution upon the Conquest of the whole Kingdom by the *Mohammedans*.

Mohammedans, the Catholic should have been able to send a Mission into *China*.

Muller thought the Christians fled from Persecution into the neighbouring Provinces, and that thence they might have penetrated into *China*; and indeed this Conjecture might pass, was it not repugnant to History, which most explicitly declares, that the *Nestorians* enjoyed themselves in Peace, from the Reign of *Siroes*, that they were countenanced by Queen *Turan-dookht*, and that the *Mohammedans* from the very beginning, were still more kind to them. *Mohammed* himself had recommended them to his Captains, and had granted them Protections, which were confirmed by *Omar* the third Kalif, and which, as the Historian assures us, were preserved, and afterwards still farther confirmed by *Othman* an *Ali*. The Christians had nothing to compel them out of the Country, or to take Refuge elsewhere, and least of all the *Nestorians*, who were more numerous than the rest, and by no Means obnoxious, as being proscribed and expelled the Provinces under the Greek Emperors. Again they had a solid Claim to the *Mohammedan* Friendship, they being the first that made Advances towards a Submission to the false Prophet, whom the *Nestorians* alone have applauded as the *Extirpator of Idolatry*, nor have their Divines scrupled to quote the *Koran*, in speaking of the Mystery of the Incarnation: Their History acquaints us, that several Christians of this same Communion,

were

The Christians did not remove out of Persia to avoid the Persecution of the Arabs.

*Amrus.
Matth.
Ele. Nisib.*

were much considered at the Court of *Bagdad*, and particularly in the Reign of *Almamun*, who employed them in the Translations he ordered of the ancient *Greek* Books into *Arabic*; they were valued also for the Skill some of them had in *Physic*, as *Honain* the Son of *Isaac*, and his Son *John* the Son of *Massowia*, known by the Name of *Mesvus*, *Boetjaskuak*, *George*, and *Gabriel*, mentioned by *Abulfaragius*, as well as those who penned the Lives of the Physicians. So *Muller's* Conjecture must fall to the Ground, and the rather, because the Christians could not withdraw from the Provinces late in Subjection to the Kings of *Persia*, without exposing themselves to very great Dangers, in the Midst of barbarous and mostly irreligious Nations, as those were, who inhabited the *Transoxane* quire to *China*.

We know nothing of this Mission but by the Inscription on the Chinese Stone.

We must be contented therefore, with what we are told by the *Chinese* Inscription, whose Authority cannot well be contested, tho' the History of the *Nestorian* Patriarchs does say nothing of any *Syrian* Missionaries sent to *China*. For this History is so imperfect that no Wonder it slips over the Concerns of so distant a Country, seeing it omits many Facts of the same Nature, which we know from other Hands. The other Histories, as well Printed as in Manuscript, are by no Means more complete, and the Aversion the Orthodox or *Melchites*, as well as the *Jacobites*, have ever had to the *Nestorians*, is the Reason they

they scarce name them ; besides, it is probable they knew but little of what passed in a Communion they had nothing at all to do with.

Supposing then the Contents of the *Chinese* Inscription to be true, and we have almost all the Reason in the World to admit it; Christianity was first taught in *China* in the Course of the seventh Century, and the first Missionaries were *Nestorians*, of the same Church with those who erected this Monument, one Hundred and forty-six Years afterwards, to commemorate this first Mission. Nor can we doubt but that, in Conformity to the common Discipin of all Christians, the Catholics or Patriarchs of the *Nestorians*, erected the usual Hierarchy, sending one or several Bishops thither, without which, this infant Church could not so long have subsisted; accordingly in the *Syriac* Signatures, you have the Names of a Bishop, a Chorepiscopus, Priests and Deacons; and it is altogether probable, that as fast as there was a sufficient Number of Converts, they appointed Pastors over the new Christians: But tho' History nor this Inscription is particular as to this Point, there is an important and collateral Testimony which makes it almost certain.

These Missionaries were Nestorians.

We have a *Notitia* of the Metropolitans of the *Nestorian* Church, which cannot be questioned, the six first of them being the same as are in the Office of the Consecration of the Catholic, published by Father

Their Notitia has a Metropolitan of China.

h

Morin,

De Sanct.
Ordin.

Morin, as the Chief in Dignity, and the same as are often mentioned in History, as are most of the rest. The Order these *Metropolitans* stand in, seems at first to be confused; and it might be thought, they are not named according to the Rank they held in the Church. For the Metropolitan of *Jerusalem* is but the twenty-second, tho' there are but twenty-four in all, which is contrary to the Usage of other Churches, and to the Canons of the Council of *Nice*, which dignifies him next after the four Patriarchs. And hence is it that he, for many Ages, has been considered as the fifth Patriarch in the *Greek* Church, and in the *Latin*; tho' the same was not allowed him by the *Coptic* Church of *Alexandria*. But it may be readily understood that this Order, the *Nestorian Metropolitans* stand in, was not regulated by the Dignity, but the Antiquity of each. Now this Antiquity was not deduced from the Rank these Metropolitan Cities may have enjoyed under the Christian Emperors; for in those Days they were scarce known, and destitute of Bishops, nay, some of them were not built.

They erect
a new
Hierarchy.

The *Nestorians* then erected a new Hierarchy, whose general Metropolis, and, as it were, the Capital of their Patriarchat was *Seleucia* of the *Parthians*, and *Ctesiphon*, which have been deemed as one and the same City. *Simon*, by the *Nestorians* called *Barsabai*, who suffered Martyrdom in *Sapor's* great Persecution, and whom they

they number with their *Catholics*, was, according to *Sozomen*, Archbishop of *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon*, Royal Cities of *Persia*. The *Nestorians* there settled, and rose to great Authority under *Cosroes Nuskirowan*, who protected them in Opposition to the *Greek* Emperors, and compelled the other Christians to embrace their Communion. In this State of Favor they remained under the last Kings of *Persia*, and the same was secured to them, as has already been said, by the first Kalifs. As they well knew, and as was the Belief of all Christians, there could be no such Thing as being of the Church without an Apostolical Succession, that is, if the principal See had not been founded by some of the Apostles or Disciples of *Jesus Christ*, a Prerogative they wanted, they sought for one which they thought sufficient. They began then with the holy Bishops of *Seleucia*, whom they would have to be the Predecessors of their *Catholics*, but fraught with no other Proof than that of possessing the same Churches, wherewith they had been invested by infidel Princes. Then as, according to the Tradition of the *Mesopotamian* Churches, *St. Thadæus* preached the Gospel at *Edeffa*, a See they had also usurped, as well as the ancient School of the Holy Scripture, whence they were driven by *Heraclius*, but which they were restored to by the *Arabs*; by the help of this and many Figments at the beginning of their History, they persuaded their

People,

Ἀρχιεπί-
σκοπος
Σελδουκεί-
ας, καὶ Κτη-
σιφώνης
ᾧ ἐν Περ-
σίᾳ βα-
σιλευσάν-
των πολι-
τῶν.

Sozom. l. 2.
c. 8.
Cedren. T.
I. p. 415.

People, that St. *Thadæus* had founded the Church of *Seleucia*, and the Dignity of *Catholic*. Thus is it that they fixed their Patriarchal See at *Modain*, the ancient *Seleucia*, and when that City was partly ruined, and *Almansur* the Kalif had built *Bagdad*, they transferred it thither.

The Ere-
ction of
their new
Metropoli-
tane.

The Foundation of this new Hierarchy being laid in *Persia*, their first Metropolitan City was *Fundaisabur*, built by *Sapor Ardsbir* King of *Persia*, and which before had not so much as a Bishop. The second was *Nisibis*, after they had expelled the Orthodox from that City and School there, which they did to honour their Sect by the Commemoration of St. *James*, and many other Saints. The third was *Bassora*, the fourth *Hazza*, the ancient *Arbela*, by the *Arabs*, *Erbel*: The fifth was *Bajarmi*, or as the *Syrians* pronounce it *Beitgarma*, the ancient *Martyropolis*; the sixth was *Hakwan*, a City of *Irak*, five Days from *Bagdad*, but unknown to Antiquity. These six first Metropolitan Cities, accounted such by the *Nestorians* only, were either in *Mesopotamia*, or the *Irak Ajami* or the *Persian Irak*, it being in these Provinces that they first began to spread. After this they erected a Metropolitan of *Persia* that is of the Country comprehended under the Name of *Fars*, or *Persia* properly so called, they being admitted by the last Kings. From thence they penetrated into the *Upper-Asia*, and the ninth Metropolitan was that of *Maru* in *Chorassan*; the tenth was

Abulf.
n. 291.

was *Aract*, the *Aria* of the Ancients; the eleventh *Katarba*, but little known. To conclude, the twelfth was that of *China*, the thirteenth that of the *Indies*.

According to what we have noted above, this Order or Series of *Metropolitans*, acquaints us with the Seniority of each; and thence it follows that *China* being, in the *Notitia*, named before the *Indies*, must have been the elder of the two. It may be said these two were but one, and it may seem that *Trigaut* supplies us with a Proof thereof; for speaking of the two last Bishops sent to the *Indies* by the *Nestorian* Patriarch, at the Time that *D. Alexis de Meneses* was labouring to reform the *Malabar* Churches, he says, *they called themselves* *Metropolitans of the Indies and of China*. It is true, that in the latter Ages these two Titles were put together, but formerly they were distinct; and in the History of the *Nestorians*, we read of several Examples of two Bishoprics in like Manner united, even of two Metropolitan Sees in one Person. So the Catholic *Shebarjashuab* who is the LXV, and was consecrated towards the End of the eleventh Century, united the Bishoprics of *Cashgar* and *Waset*, in the Person of the Priest *Hormisdas*, a Native of *Siraf*. Another called *Stephen*, was appointed Bishop of *Elfan* and *Bowazije*. The Metropolis of *Hakwan* was united with that of *Rai*; *Hazza* or *Arbela*, and *Musol*, two of the six Principal, were held by the same Metropolitan *Jabalaba*.

They were ranked according to Seniority.

Gov. Hist. of Menes.

There are many Examples of the same kind that occur among the *Nestorians*, and the Abuse sprang from these Sources; for, *First*, notwithstanding the ancient Canons, they admit in Concurrence with other Christians, no Sect has more daringly infringed them, and especially in the Translation of Bishops. Most of their Catholics and Patriarchs were Bishops or Metropolitans of other Churches, which not only was no Obstacle in the Way of their Election, but they were also consecrated a new, much in the same Form with Bishops. The *Coptic* Church of *Alexandria* never gave way to this Abuse, and down to these latter Times she has observed it as a Rule, never to elect any Man her Patriarch, if by Consecration he was wedded to any particular Church. The *Jacobite* Church of *Antioch* adhered a long Time to the same, and two of her Metropolitans chose rather to lay down their Lives, than consent to the Election of *Isaac* Bishop of *Harra*n into the Patriarchal See of *Antioch*. The *Greeks* have a long while forgot this holy Institution, nor can we ourselves decently reproach them therewith. It may then have hapned, that the *Nestorian* Patriarchs, presuming upon the full Power they arrogated, thought they had Authority to make these Unions; but to deal ingenuously by them, they may have had this; *Secondly*, To excuse them, that their Sect dwindling considerably away in the second and third Century

tury of *Mohammedism*, by means of the Privileges the *Melchites* and *Jacobites* obtained of the *Kalifs* and *Soltans*, it hapned that in many Cities where the *Nestorians* had been the only Christians, they were not a number sufficient to constitute an Episcopal Church or a Metropolitan. Hence some came to be joined with their Neighbours, others were totally extinguished, as in process of Time hapned to that of *China*, when Christianity was there no more, as was the Case when the *Portuguese* first arrived there. Then it became a mere Title like those in *Partibus Infidelium*.

The Greek Patriarchs of *Antioch* have pretended that their Jurisdiction reached all over the *East*, whence it is said in the *Notitia* of *Nilus Doxapatrius*, That his Authority extended over all Asia, the East, and the Indies, whither he sent a Catholic called of Romogyris. This Title may have been kept up together with some others assumed by the Greek Patriarch of *Antioch*: But we find not the least vestige in History since the seventh Century at least, of Catholics or Metropolitans sent to the Indies, either by the Orthodox or Jacobite Patriarchs of *Antioch*, much less to *China*, where the Christians were always of the *Nestorian* Persuasion.

The Patriarchs of Antioch sent no Missionaries to China.

κατέϊχεν
ἅπασαν
τὴν Ἀσίαν
καὶ ἀνατο-
λὴν αὐτῆς
τε καὶ Ἰν-
δίαν, &c

Allat. l. i.
c. 9. p. 166.

There is Reason then to believe, that those who went thither to spread the Light of the Gospel, obscured as it was by the darkness of Errors, took the way of the Provinces conterminous with *Chorassan*,

These first Missionaries went to China by Land.

and that they travelled thither by Land, For that enigmatical Expression, *contemplando ventorum regulam, & a nubibus cæruleis directus*, is far from proving, that this *Olopuen* sailed thither by Sea, and by the help of the Compass. We want something more than *Chinese* History to persuade us they knew any thing of the Magnetic Needle, but if we grant the *Chinese* to have used it, we are pretty sure the *Syrians* did not; the Course they shaped for the *Indies* is a plain Demonstration of their Ignorance in this Particular. But, indeed as they had vast Desarts to cross before they could reach *China*, they might have had recourse to the Needle to guide them, just as they do in the vast Wilderesses of *America*, when they were out upon any Discovery. Others, as those mentioned in the Sequel of the *Chinese* Inscription, may have gone thither by Sea, steering the same Course laid down by our Authors; and it is likely they went much about the same Time, the Metropolis of the *Indies* being immediately named after that of *China*.

*How long
Christianity
lasted in
China.*

We may conclude, then, from what we are told by the Inscription, that Christianity which was first preached in *China* in the Year DCXXXVI, subsisted there till the Date in *Syriac*, that is, till the Year of Christ DCCLXXX and even a considerable time afterwards, since *Abu Zeid*, the Author of the second *Account*, speaking of the general Revolution which happened in
China

China, and particularly of the Destruction of *Canfu* in the Year of the *Hejra* CCLXIV, or of *Jesus Christ* DCCCLXXVII, relates that a great Number of Christians was there slaughtered. He says nothing of those in other Cities, whence it seems that in this City, which was the principal Scale, there were none but Merchants.

But we are told by another Author, whom we know but by the means of *Golius*, in the Margin of one part of his Notes upon *Alfraganus*, that the Chatholics sent some Ecclesiastics into *China*, above an hundred Years afterwards. This is the Translation. "*Abulfergius* relates, from the " Testimony of a Monk of *Najaran*, these " very Words, That he returned from *Chi-* " *na* in the Year CCCLXXXVII, that is in " the Year of *Christ* DCCCCLXXXVII " whither he had been sent, seven Years " before, or thereabouts, by the Catholics, " together with five Persons more; and " that the Name of the City, he had been " at, was *Tajuna*.

Hence we infer, that towards the end of the tenth Century, the Catholics or *Nesto-* *rian* Patriarchs continued to send Missionaries to *China*, after the Example of their Predecessors. But from that time we are on all sides left in the dark concerning these Missions, whence it should seem that Christianity was soon after wholly lost in that Country by some Cause to us unknown. We do not discern that there was any Persecution, like the last in *Japan*,
one

We know nothing further of the Christians of this Country since the tenth Century.

one of the most cruel the Church ever underwent ; nor could the Revolutions, brought upon *China* by the *Tartar* Conquests of *Jenghiz Khan* and his Successors, have been fatal to the Christians ; for we know that *Jenghiz Khan* himself had a love for them ; his principal Wife was the Daughter of *Ung Khan* whom he despoiled of Empire, and who was a Christian, as were many of the Hoards of *Tartars* that paid him Homage. His Successors were to the full as well inclined towards the Christians ; and in the Life of *Jababalaba*, which ends the History of the *Nestorians*, we read very remarkable Instances to prove it. It is therein related that this Catholic was originally of *Cathay*, and that he was sent by *Abasba-Khan*, great Emperor of the *Tartars*, to visit the holy Places at *Jerusalem*, there to lay certain costly Robes upon the Sepulchre, and afterwards dip them in the *Jordan* : That afterwards he was made Metropolitan of *Tangut*, by his Predecessor *Danka*, who had invested him with a plenary Authority over the Hoards of Christian *Tartars*, and that at last he was chosen Catholic. He sat thirty seven Years ; but when the *Tartars* were driven from *Bagdad*, the *Mohammedans* destroyed a part of the *Nestorian* Churches, added to the former Tributes, and things put on quite another Face.

From that time History says nothing of the subject we have been upon, and we are

are left barely to guess at what may further concern it. This last Revolution fell out a little before this Catholic dyed, who departed this Life in the MDCXXIX Year of the *Seleucida*, or the Year MCCCXVII of *Jesus Christ*. We find no Name that succeeded him, and very probable it is, that Christianity dwindled away by Degrees in *China* for want of Pastors, or for some other reasons we know not. For when the *Portuguese* failed to *China* in the Year MDXVII under the command of *Fernand Perez d' Andrade*, who was the first that went to *Canton*, there was not the least Footstep of Christianity to be traced out; and the first Missionaries of that Nation as well as the *Castilians*, who crossed over from the *Philippine* Island, met with none that were not Idolaters. Some Crosses and other Signs, which have been since discovered, being naked of all Date or Inscription, could afford us no certain Light, till the Year MDCXXV, when the Monument we have had under consideration was discovered,

Barros. T.
3. l. 2. c.
6. 7. 8.

AN INQUIRY

Into the Time when the *Mohammedans*
first entered into

C H I N A.

OF the many curious Particulars to be found in the *Two Accounts* we have presented to the Public, the Entrance of the *Mohammedans* into *China*, before the third Century of the *Hejra*, is not the least considerable. All their Historians are very obscure upon their Travels or Voyages to this part of the *Upper Asia*; and their most famous Geographers differ so widely from each other, that we may believe they were as ignorant of those Parts, as we were in *Europe* before the Nautical Attempts of the two last Ages. *Abulfeda*, the most accurate of their Geographers, speaks of *China* merely by what he heard from some Merchants. The rest are full of Fables, such as *Alexander's* Travels to *China*, his Conference with the Emperor there, and the like: Their Copists have but added to the useless Lumber by
fresh

fresh Stories, which have thickened the Mist, and may convince us of their thorough Ignorance : And, indeed, our Authors seem to be the first, and almost the only Writers that have dwelt on those Parts with some tolerable exactness. They first told us the *Mohammedans* had a considerable Settlement in the principal Port of *China*, and that they had there a *Kadi*, who acted both as a Judge, and a Spiritual Director. In a word, that great Numbers of *Mohammedans* were in the Imperial City before the great Revolution, mentioned in the second *Account*.

Our own Ancient Authors take Notice, that in the vast Provinces, known formerly by the Name of *Cathay*, they met with *Mohammedans*, who had been there a long while ; and the Accounts of the first *Jesuits* that went to *China*, confirm what they say. They, in every City, found *Mohammedans*, in Number sufficient to evince That they must have been of very old standing in the Country. But since nor the Ancients nor the Moderns give us any Circumstances, or inform us when or how they came into this Country, it may not be unacceptable if we make some Inquiry into this Matter.

It is the Belief of many that the *Mohammedans* went first to *China* by Land, and that the Track pursued by some modern Travellers, ought to point out to us the Road the Ancients may have taken : *Marco Polo*, say they, went into *China* by the

Whether the Mohammedans went thither by Land.

Voyages
de Theve-
not. T. 4.

the way of *Tartary*; *Mandeville* almost trod in his very Footsteps; *Jenghiz Khan*, the first Emperor of the *Moguls*, conquered a Part of *China*, and marched thereto from the ancient *Mogulistan* or *Turkestan*; we have a *Persian* Account of an Embassy from a *Tartar* Prince to the Emperor of *China*, and this Ambassador went also by Land; at the beginning of this Century, *Benet Goez*, a Jesuit, travelled also from the *Indies* to *Pekin*; the Fathers *Grueber* and *Orville* did a few Years ago perform the same Journey the *Moscovite* Ambassadors do when they go to *China*, and they even assure us, this Rout, which is not always the same, is pretty well frequented by the Caravans of the Merchants of the *Upper Asia*. These different Routs are pricked down in the Map of *Cathay*, published by *Kircher* in his *China Illustrata*; and Father *Couplet* had another, which pretty much confounded us, tho' the Names of the Places were written in *Persian*.

All these Instances sufficiently prove that we may go to *China* by Land, and there is no doubt of it; but the Way held by a small Number of Travellers does not seem to prove, That for certain the same was held by the Caravans and Merchants, which ought to have been the Case, for such a Number of *Mohammedans* to get into *China* that way. For, according to the old Method of travelling in Caravans, it was a very hard matter for the Merchants of *Persia* and *Mesopotamia* to go thither by
Land,

Land, unless the Track was well frequented; and it seems not only certain that it was far from being so, but also that it was considered only as a By-way, a Short Cut.

The better to clear up this Difficulty, which, well explained, may let us into many Points of Eastern History and Geography, we must first survey the Extent of the *Mohammedan* Empire in the third Century of the *Hejra*, and at the same time consider what Bounds the Eastern Geographers set to the Provinces of the *Upper Asia*, nearest the Borders of *China*.

To clear up this matter we must examine what were the Limits of the Mohammedan Empire in the third Century.

Mohammed made himself Master of a part of *Arabia*; and *Abubecr* his Successor conquered the rest of this Province, with the greatest part of *Syria*: *Egypt* also was subdued in his Reign, and these Conquests were ensued by others Westward, which are foreign to our Subject. In *Asia*, the *Mohammedans* had two potent Enemies to cope with, the *Romans* and the *Persians*: the former were Lords of the greatest part of *Syria* on this side the *Euphrates*; the latter were Supreme over the rest, and their Empire extended far away into the *Upper Asia*. The *Romans* were driven out of *Syria* in the Reign of *Heraclius*, by *Omar* the third Kalif, who possessed himself of *Damascus*, and all the *Holy Land*. The Empire of the *Sassanian* or *Cosroid Persians* expired at almost the same time, by the Defeat of *Isderd*, the Son of *Shah-Riar*, the last of these Princes, who being forced out of all the *Persian Irak*, retreated into *Chorassan*, where he was

was almost instantly attacked by the King of *Turkestan*, and at last slain in the Year of the *Hejra* XXXI, of *Christ* DCLI. At this same time the *Arabs* made a Conquest of the greatest part of *Chorassan*; and *Abdallah*, the Son of *Amar*, who commanded the Troops on that side, advanced quite up to the *Oxus* or River of *Balk*, before the Death of *Isdejerd*.

The civil War which broke out in the Reign of *Ali*, the fifth Kalif, and which blazed till the Settlement of the Family of the *Ommiyads*, put a stop to this mighty Progress: But in the Year of the *Hejra* LXXVI, and of *Jesus Christ* DCXCV, they made an irruption into *Tabaristan* or *Ta-brestan*. In the first Century also they made some Conquests in *Armenia*, and and in the Country of the *Turks*; but as the *Arabs* bestowed this Name promiscuously on several Provinces of the *Upper Asia*, which they knew not, it is impossible to say how far they advanced in their first Wars with the ancient People of *Turkestan*.

Elmac. p.
70.

Walid, the thirteenth Kalif, who began his Reign in the Year of the *Hejra* LXXXVI, and of *Christ* DCCV, did very much enlarge the Extent of the *Mohammedan* Empire. *Katiba*, one of his Generals, conquered the *Mawaralnakra* or *Transoxane*, took *Bokara*, and *Samarcand* the Capital of the *Sogd*, or *Sogdiana* of the Ancients, together with *Farganah*, and many other Cities farther remote, beyond which
the

the *Mohammedans* marched not, till a long time afterwards. It is true, the *Oriental Histories* tell us, that in the Days of *Malec-shah* the third of the *Seljukids*, their Empire reached to *Cashgar*, but this Kingdom was not subdued under the *Kalits*, but by Kings, who not only disowned the *Kalif's* Yoke, but *Mohammedism* also; for *Historians* observe, that *Michael* the Son of *Seljuk*, was the first *Turk* that turned *Mohammedan*.

Elmac.
Leb. Ta-
rik. Emir.
Cond. A-
bulfeda.

We must conclude then, that in the third Century of *Mohammedism*, when our Authors lived, the *Mohammedans* might go to the uttermost Parts of the *Mawaral-nabra*, without exceeding the Bounds of their Empire; and that thus they were at no great Distance from the Frontiers of *China*: But it is not likely they were at that Time settled at *Cashgar*. Under the Empire of the *Seljukids*, indeed, they were a considerable Body there, and according to *Abulfeda*, this City produced a great number of Persons famed for Learning.

When our
Authors
wrote, the
Moham-
medan
Empire ex-
tended to the
Frontiers
of China.

Cashgar, according to both ancient and modern Geographers, was usually crossed by those who went either into *Turkestan*, or *China*. Some place this City in *Turkestan*, but others, upon better Ground, write it the Capital of a Kingdom of the same Name, inhabited by *Mohammedans*. According to *Abulfeda*, it is in 96 or 95, that is, in 105 or 106 Deg. 30 Min. of Longitude, and in 44 Deg. of Latitude, and so must be much more Easterly than *Samar-*

The Way
by Cash-
gar.

cand,

cand, which, according to the same Author, is in 89 or 88 Degrees of Longitude, and in the 40th Degree of Latitude; that is, according to the usual Computation, 98 or 99 Degrees of Longitude, by adding the ten Degree necessary to make *Abulfeda's* Meridian coincide with the Meridian of the other Geographers. After this Rate the Way the *Arabs* must have held for *China*, was by going first into *Chorassan*, from thence into the *Mawaralnabrah*; to have gone strait from *Samarcand*, or some other City of the Province, destroyed by the *Moguls*, into *Tibet*, or to have gone into the Kingdom of *Cashgar*, there to join the *Caravans*. They sometimes also went by the way of *Gaznah*, upon the Skirts of *Chorassan*, which had great Dealings; or by *Cabul* a City to the Eastward of *Gaznah*, and which, in *Abulfeda's* Time, was the last City inhabited by *Mohammedans*, on the Borders of *Tokarestan*, or *Turkestan*, and the Place where the *Indous* and *Moslems* Traders usually met. When these Travellers had got into *Tibet*, they might have entered *China*, by the Province of *Chensi*, after they had crossed the Sandy Desert.

Abulfed.
n. 523.

Another
Way by
Samar-
cand.

But it was still more easy to reach *China* by Land, if the Kingdom of *Samahand* be the same with that of *Samarcand*, and extends to the Sandy Desert, as Father *Martini* has it in his Chart. Not but that the Distance is much the same, for these last Maps stretching *Samahand* to the Desert, only allow it a larger Scope than the *Arabian*

bian Geographers. *Samarcand* is the Capital of the *Sogd*, and must be farther from *Tibet* than some Travellers give out, and among the rest *Benjamin* the Jew, who places it but four Days distant from the Capital of that Kingdom, whereas the Eastern Geographers clap ten Degrees between them. But there is no concluding any Thing from what they say; for they knew but little of the Provinces beyond the *Mawaralnakra*, and the Countries of *Cashgar* and *Cotan*; for under the general Name of *Turan*, or *Turkestan*, *Tajuje* and *Majuje*, that is, *Gog* and *Magog*, they comprehended all the Provinces Northward and Eastward of *China*. And some have enlarged *Chorassan* to that Degree, as to make it take in the greatest Part of the *Mawaralnakra* and *Chowarazm*, and so have made it a nearer Neighbour to *China*, than is allowed by the proper Limits of this Province.

Itiner.
Benjam. p.
97.

Our Authors seem to have been of this Opinion, and the last of them, giving an Account of a Man who went from *Samarcand* to *China*, observes it to be a two Months Journey from the Skirts of *China* to the *Sogd* of *Samarcand*, which is nearly the Distance of the two Ends of the *Sogd*, extending it to *Sicu*, which must be *Socheu*, on the Borders of the Province of *Chenfi*. According to the Eastern Geographers, these two Cities * are 28 Degrees

What our
Authors
say to this
Matter.

* Our Author is somewhat obscure in the preceding Period; but by these two Cities he seems to understand *Samarcand* and *Sicu* or *Socheu*.

distant from each other; and these Degrees are equal to four Hundred and eighty *French* Leagues, at twenty to a Degree, which divided by sixty, give 8 Leagues for each Day, which, by the *Arabian* Geographers, are equal to a Days Journey for a Man that walks.

*This Way
was im-
practicable.*

But this Way by Land, whether by *Samarcand*, by *Cabul*, by *Gaznah*, or by *Cashgar*, was very impracticable in the Days our *Arabs* wrote, exclusive of the natural Inconveniencies of the Roads they were to travel. All the Trade of the *East* was then in the Hands of the Merchants of *Persia*, *Bassora*, and of the Coast quite down to the *Red-Sea*, which was the Center of the *Egyptian* Trade, and partly of the *Mediterranean*. They traded to the *Indies* by Land, in many Places, and particularly at *Cabul*. The Product of *Arabia*, *Egypt*, *Persia*, and the adjacent Provinces they exchanged with the Merchants of *Turkestan* and the *Indies*, for Musk, precious Stones, Chrystals, Spices, and Drugs: But it was almost impossible for them to go farther, or to drive a Trade quite home to *China*, because of the Desert, a dangerous Track; and still more, because of the continual Wars between the *Arabs* and the Princes of *Turkestan*. And the civil Broils which during the first Centuries, and afterwards were fomented between the different *Mohammedan* Princes of *Chorassan*, and the Tyranny of the Governors of Provinces in Times of Peace,

Peace added still to the difficulties of Trading extensively by Land.

Nor does it appear that any of these Obstacles were removed for a considerable time; for the *Mahammedans* did not penetrate into those Provinces of *Turkestan*, conterminous with the *Mawaralnabrah* and *Chorassan*, 'till three hundred Years after the first Voyages by Sea we are here to speak of.

The various and numerous Nations, the *Arabs* comprehended under the general Name of *Turks*; came very late into *Mohammedism*; and the *Moguls*, when become Lords of the *Upper Asia* under *Jenghiz Khan*, were for the most part without any Religion, or had one to themselves; so that it was under some of this *Khan's* Successors that several of the *Moguls* turned *Mohammedans*; but the People of *Kipjak*, adhered mostly to the Religion of their Ancestors, contained in the famous Laws called *Yaza Jenghiz Khan*, as did most of the Hoards of the Desert, according to *Cond Emir*, and even the whole Province of *Sejestan*, according to *Abulfeda*. The *Arabs* then could not safely venture a-cross these Provinces, inhabited as they were, either by Enemies or by People of different Persuasions, who had most of them been driven out of *Chorassan* and the *Mawaralnabrah* by the prevailing Arms of the *Kalifs*. The Baits of a gainful Commerce could scarce bewitch the *Arabs* to run such Risques, and especially as the

The Turks came late into Mohammedism.

Bulk of Trade was negociated, as it afterwards was, upon the Sea of *India*; and indeed by the Accounts of Goods we read in *Arabian* Authors, we sufficiently understand they had no large Dealings with those remote Provinces; that the Drugs they had from thence were brought to the *Mohammedan* Cities, by the *Turkish* or *Indian* Traders; and that all their Furs, in which may have consisted the most advantageous Branch of their Traffic, they had from *Armenia* and *Belad al-Jebel*, or from the *Barbarian* Coast, whence they had the Tygers and Leopards Skins, they so much valued for Caparisons and Saddles.

The Mohammedans not prompted to these long Traverses by Curiosity.

Nor does Curiosity seem to have prompted the *Mohammedans* to undertake such long Traverses, tho' it must be owned they sometimes went farther to hear some of their famous Masters. These Peregrinations did, with them, answer the end of a Course of Theology, and in some sort raised them to the Degree of Doctor. They would formerly from *Spain* and *Africa* go first to *Mecca*, then to *Bagdad*, thence to *Balk*, to *Samarcand* and to *Nisapor* to hear the celebrated Professors of those Academies. *Ebn Shalikan*, in his Lives of Illustrious Men, has many Examples of such Traverses, which in those Days were performed with ease enough. For at every Town and every Mosch, the Pilgrims met with charitable Entertainment, and with Persons who accounted it an Ho-

Honour to entertain them in their Houses. The *Mollaks* and the Learned in particular paid them great respect ; many Princes had bequeathed Foundations for their Support ; and if with some Knowledge in the *Koran*, and a parcel of traditionary Stories about *Mohammed*, they had some smattering of the Law, and a bent for the *Arabesque* Poetry, they were sure of a kind Reception throughout the extent of the *Mohammedan* Empire, just as our *Trabadours* were antiently received at the Courts of the European Princes.

All this might induce us to conclude, that the first *Arabs* that went to *China*, were Merchants. The way thither by Land was so little used during the three first Centuries of *Mohammedism*, and even for some Time afterwards, that History scarce Records one Example of any Attempt of the kind. Now it cannot be very easy to suppose, that this Road was beaten by the Caravans, and the Geographers know nothing of the Matter ; and yet *Abulfeda* and the other best Geographers seem to have known none but the chief Maritime Cities of *China*. They scarce ever speak of those towards *Chorassan*, and when they do, they have nothing but Fables to tell of them. These Countries of *Gog* and *Magog* are their Fairy-Land ; it is here they suppose all the most wonderful Things to be, such as the Spring of Life *Alexander* sought for, and many other incredible

History of the Provenc Poets of Nostradamus. Hist. Manuscr. The Arabs scarce knew any but the Maritime Cities of China.

Particulars, which they have borrowed from the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, and some such like writers.

When they tell these Tales in their Poems and Romances, we may say the Authors thereby mean to please and amuse us only : But when we meet with them in the gravest Works, and find they are to pass for the Geographical Description and History of a Country, we may safely pronounce the Author profoundly ignorant of what he would instruct us in, and especially when the more Judicious, not daring to relate them, give you to understand they have not much Faith in them. The very same Judgment may be formed in consequence of this, That the best Authors treating of the extraordinary, but true, Things of these same Parts, which the late Discoveries have confirmed and ascertained, do it with very great Caution, and as if they were not above half inclined to believe them.

Their Ignorance
proved by
their Geographers.

This Ignorance of the true State of *China*, particularly on the side of the Desert, beyond *Cashgar* and the Western boundary of *Tibet* may be proved upon them by us as many Eastern Geographers as there are in Libraries. Nor did this Mist continue during the first Centuries of *Mohammedism* only, it lasted down to the fourteenth Century, down to *Abulfeda* ; tho' he, not barely satisfied with what was to be found in the best Au-

Authors, had recourse to Travellers and Merchants for farther Information. Now it should seem there could be no going into *China* by Land, without knowing something of the great Wall: If a Traveller or two had gone through they possibly might have known but little of the extent and vastness of that Work; but had it been a common Road, Travellers would have made some mention of it; and yet we have not one Eastern Geographer, above three hundred Years old, that has described it, or that even seems to have known any thing at all of it: And those who have written the History of *Fenghiz-Khan*, seem to have been to the full as ignorant in this particular. *Golius*, it is true, in his Additions to the *Chinese Atlas*, cites a Passage in *Abulfeda*, which seems as if that Prince knew something of the Wall, but it is a Passage not to be found in old Copies of him; and the same may be said of what *Kircher* cites from *Nassir Eddin*, which is enough to make us believe they may be the Additions of some modern Hand.

But Eastern Historians and Geographers are not only so ill acquainted with this Part of the *Upper Asia*, they speak so confusedly of the Countries farther Northward, that it is impossible to imagin they knew much of them. In Truth, they comprehend all the Tracts beyond *Chowarazm* and the *Mawaralnabrah*, under the general Names of *Turan*, *Turkestan*, or Coun-

The Eastern Geographers know but little of the Upper Asia.

County of the *Turks*, *Igur*, *Catai*, *Shacatai*, *Caracatai*, and some others, without assigning any determinate Bounds to these Provinces, or if they attempt it, they vary so infinitely from each other, that there is no reconciling them; and just the same Stand they are at when they offer to fix the Position of the Provinces of *Turan*, or the ancient *Mogulistan*, the Scene of the mighty Deeds of *Fengbiz Khan*. It was anciently the Opinion that all this vast Extent was inhabited by none but Hoards or Tribes of *Nomad Tartars*, Wanderers, and destitute of Towns; but in the History of *Fengbiz Khan* you have Accounts of Sieges which lasted many Months, and such Slaughters of the Inhabitants of the conquered Places as abundantly evince them to have been very numerously populous. *Fengbiz Khan* was a Descendant of *Buzanjir Khan*, who had been a potent King among the *Tartars*. *Ung Khan*, whom many, both antient and modern, have taken for the *Prefter John*, so famous in the History of latter Times, was Lord of a very great Kingdom; and yet no Mention at all is made of it by the *Arabian* Geographers who wrote before the *Tartars* made a Conquest of all the *Upper Asia*: And their Authors, that have written since the *Tartars* were driven out of *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*, seem to have made no use of the Communication they had with them, for a hundred Years, to inform themselves,

Barros
Decad. 3.
l. 4. c. 1.

selves concerning the Countries so utterly unknown to their ancient Geographers.

To all this we may add the little Knowledge the *Tartars* of *Mogulistan*, a Part of *Cashgar*, and *Tibet* had of *Mohammedism* before the Days of *Jenghiz Khan*. The best Historians, and particularly *Emir Cond*, *Cond Emir*, and many that have followed them, observe that before *Jenghiz Khan*, the *Tartars* had no other Religion than what was contained in the *Yaza* or ancient Customs of the Nation; and so indifferent were these *Tartars* afterwards upon the Choice of Religion, that several of the Descendants of *Jenghiz Khan* became Christians, while some of them embraced *Mohammedism*, and others adhered to the old Religion of the Country. From this Piece of History we may, almost, by a natural Induction conclude, That the *Mohammedans* had hitherto but a very slender Commerce with these People of the *Upper Asia*; for they have ever made a Number of Converts in the Places where they have settled, or where they have had Liberty of Trade. Hence is it that great Numbers of them have been found upon all the Coasts of *India*; for a few Families of them settling in some of the chief Cities of the Coast, were sufficient to give Rise to some small Colonies, which, in Process of Time, became very potent. Thus was it, that under the great Empire of the *Seljukids*, when the *Mohammedans* had Intercourse with the Kingdoms of

Mohammedism but little known among the *Tartars* before *Jenghiz Khan*.

of *Cashgar* and *Cotan*, that *Mohammedism* was by little and little introduced; which they easily compassed, supported as they were, by the Power of *Chorassan*, the *Marwarahnakra*, and the neighbouring States, in Subjection to the Soltans, who, some of them, as *Malec Shah*, *Mahmud*, his Son, and some others of the same Family resided in those very Parts.

A Trade was not open'd with those Parts till after the Days of Jenghiz Khan.

It is certain, that after the Division of the Empire of *Jenghiz Khan*, and in the Reign of *Timur Beg* or *Tamerlan*, there began to be some Communication between *Chorassan* and *China* by Land; and that it was opened with a View to trade principally, and that some now travelled to those Parts out of Curiosity. The Merchants of *Chorassan*, who traded upon the Frontiers, did sometimes venture to cross the Desert in Caravans; but some of these Attempts miscarrying, the *Usbek* Princes, and some of the *Myrza Tartars*, mostly descended of *Jenghiz Khan*, by *Tuli Khan*, his eldest Son, began to send Ambassadors to *China*, by them to protect the Trade, which turned chiefly to the Advantage of these Princes. *Shah Rok*, the Son of *Tamerlan*, did in like Manner send an Embassy to *China*, which was joined by the Ambassadors of several other Princes and many Merchants. The Account of this Embassy is in *Persian*, and the Translation of it has been published by *Thevenot*. *Father Martini* acquaints us that these Embassies come to *China* every three Years, or that

that otherwise the *Chinese* would not admit the Merchants into their Empire. The *Caravans* usually attend upon these Ambassadors, who, as *Trigaut* tells us, come also from some other Neighbouring Kingdoms, with Presents to the Emperor of *China*, by way of Tribute. Thus is it they insinuate themselves into a Trade, and the Presents they receive are often more considerable than what they bring; for the *Chinese* Ministers of State make a grand Affair of these pretended Embassies, as if they derived a very great Veneration upon their Emperor, and perfectly answered the Flight of his Ambition. But though we were assured that for four Hundred Years past the *Mohammedans* have made it a Practice to trade with *China* by Land, it would not follow that they did or could do the same during the three first Centuries of the Empire, or that they resorted thither in such Companies as may be supposed to have settled in any Number in the principal Cities the Land way.

L. 5.
p. 545,

All that has hitherto been offered, and much more that might be added, seems evidently to prove that the *Mohammedans* first went to *China* by Sea: It remains therefore that we examin into the Course they steered, the Nature of their Navigation, the End of their Voyages, and what Advantages they made of them.

It is most likely that the Arabs went first to China by Sea.

Some there are who fancy the *Arabs* steered by the Compass before we had any Knowledge of that faithful Guide; that

Some are of Opinion they had the Use of the Compass before us.

for many Ages past they have known how to take an Observation, to divide Sea Charts, and perform the several Parts of our most able Navigators. Granting all this, it must of Course follow that they made nothing of the great *Indian Ocean*, and that they traversed it, backwards and forwards, as we do at present. Thus is it that a modern Author concludes, forming his Judgment from a Supposition that the *Saracens* had the Use of the *Astrolabe* long before the *Portuguese*. "The *Saracens*, says he, "had used it a long Time before "upon the great *Indian Ocean*, to take the "Altitude of the Sun and other Stars". And in another Treatise he says to the same Purpose :

P. Berge-
ron Trait.
des Navi-
gations, p.
173.

Traité
des Saraf-
fins p.
119.

"It is also of them we learned the
"Use of the *Astrolabe*, for which they
"have so many Names in their Tongue,
"and for the several Parts of this so
"universal and useful Instrument in Astro-
"nomy; which they so well applyed on
"the Mediterranean and the great *Indian*
"Ocean, to take the Height of the Sun
"and other Stars, in the midst of their
"great Conquests, Navigations, and Dis-
"coveries, as we have elsewhere observ-
"ed. And indeed how could their Em-
"pire, their Religion, and their Tongue,
"so long have prevailed, and so exten-
"sively, among the remotest Islands, and
"the farthest Eastern Shores, without the
"Help of Navigation, and some Use of
"the Compass in such vast and perilous
"Seas"?

“ Seas”? This Writer, tho’ a very judicious Man, and many others, since him, at once suppose the Thing to have been as they would have it, and demonstrate a very uncertain Matter, by another abundantly more so. For if the *Mohammedans* have peopled a Part of the Coasts of the *East Indies* and *Afric*, it need not follow that they went thither by Sea, and tho’ they did for certain reach some Parts by Sea, it is not certain that they sailed by Observation, or that they were skilled in all the Parts of Navigation required for the Conduct of a Ship in a long run.

But to the Point; we do not find the least Proof of this ancient Use of the Compass in any of the *Arabian* Books; for tho’ the Number of their Writers be almost infinit, and tho’ no Man can be sure he has seen them all, yet may we say it is impossible that so useful and so marvellous a Discovery should be concealed in some rare and uncommon Books, if for so many Ages it was in the Hands of their Sea Artists.

Now there is not one original Word either in *Arabic*, *Turkish*, or *Persian*, which can properly signify either the Astrolabe or the Compass. The *Arabs* and the *Turks* commonly call the Compass *Bossola*, the *Italian* Name, which shews that the Thing signified is foreign to them as well as the Word. *Kotubnema* is a Compound, and a Word of modern Use with the *Persians*. Their Naturalists, who have so

We find not the least Proof towards this in their Books.

amply

amply expatiated upon the Virtues of the Load-stone, and repeated all they found concerning it in the ancient *Greek* Authors, have never once hinted at the Property of the Magnatic Needle; nor do we meet with one single Observation, made, of ancient Date, by the *Arabs*, on the Variation of the Needle, or any Instruction consequent thereto for the Assistance of Navigators.

The *Arabian*, the *Turkish*, and the *Persian* Pilots, prefer the Compasses made in Europe to those they make themselves, and are not yet perfect in the Method of touching their Needles. Indeed since they have been taught by our Seamen, they know the Use of the Compass very well, and venture upon long Runs in the *Indian* Ocean, by the Help thereof, and succeed very well: But by this we understand, That if in less than two Centuries they have learned enough of the Franks to become intelligent Navigators, they could not have had the same Knowledge several Ages before, and at the same Time be ignorant of all the Principles of Navigation, as they were at the Time of the first Discoveries. The most ancient Mathematical Instruments they have for Nautical Uses, can never be strong enough to combat this Conjecture. Some indeed they have which are well enough wrought, and particularly small Astrolabes, which their most skilful Pilots carry in their Bosom; and it is certain, that
they

they have a long time made use of this Instrument, whence Bergeron gathers That they sailed by Observation, and even used the Compass : But no one is so ignorant as not to know the wide difference there is between these two Instruments ; or that tho', by the help of an Astrolabe, an Observation of the Stars may be taken, it is of no use to the Seaman in steering his Course without the help of the Compass.

It is in vain to suppose the Arabs had the Compass before us, because they have had intercourse with the Chinese eight hundred Years past, and because the Chinese had it many Ages before we had. We very well know that Fath. Martini relates of the Emperor Ching, who reigned MCXV Years before Christ, that he made a Present of a Compass to an Ambassador from Cockinchina : *Auditus benigne legatus, adornansq; jam reditum, donatus est a Cheveungo, Machina summo artificio facta, quæ sua sponte respiciens Austram, irrequieta lege certum monstrabat iter sive terra illud, sive mari facientibus. Ea duabus syllabis Chinan appellabatur, iisdem omnino quibus nunc Sinæ Magnesiam acum significant. Argumento haud dubio ejus usum illo jam tempore apud Sinas inventum ad alias inde Nationes, mea quidem sententia, transivisse. Hanc igitur Machinam ducem secuti Cockinchinenses unius anni spatio domum rediere.* We need not inquire into the Authority of the Authors Fath. Martini has

Whether they had the Compass from the Chinese.

compiled his History from ; we ought to rely on the sincerity of that learned Man, to whom Europe is indebted for her most perfect Documents concerning *China*. But it seems extraordinary that the *Chinese* should have made so poor a Use of their Compass as to proceed in their Voyages as if they had none. The length of the time the *Cochinchinese* were upon their return from *China*, might tempt one to think this *Machine* was not altogether what we call a Compass.

The Opinion of
Sir John Chardin
concerning
this.

Sir *John Chardin*, a famous Traveller, being consulted upon this Subject, returned Answer to the following Effect. " I cannot tell whether or no the *Chinese* of themselves found out the Art of Navigation and the Compass, as they did the Art of Printing and Artillery ; we should consult their Learned to be assured of it. But for the other Asiatics I boldly assert they are beholden to us for this wonderful Instrument, which they had from Europe by the Hands of the *Arabs*, a long time before the *Portuguese* Conquests. For, *First*, Their Compasses are exactly like ours ; and they buy them up of the Europeans as much as they can, scarce daring to meddle with their Needles themselves. *Secondly*, It is certain the old Navigators, only Coasted it along ; which I impute to the want of this Instrument, to guide and instruct them in the mid Ocean. We cannot pretend to say they were

“ were afraid of venturing far from Home;
 “ for the *Arabs*, the first Navigators in
 “ the World, in my Opinion, at least
 “ for the Eastern Seas, have, time out of
 “ mind, been from the Bottom of the
 “ *Red-Sea* all along the Coast of *Afric*
 “ down to the Tropic of Capricorn,
 “ which is a Space of fifty Degrees; and
 “ the *Chinese* have always traded with the
 “ Islands of *Java* and *Sumatra*, which
 “ is also a very considerable Voyage.
 “ So many Islands uninhabited and at the
 “ same time productive, so many Lands
 “ unknown to the People I speak of,
 “ are a Proof That the old Navigators
 “ had not the Art of Sailing on the
 “ main Sea. I have nothing but Argu-
 “ ment and Conjecture to offer touching
 “ this Matter, having never met with any
 “ body in *Persia* or the *Indies* to inform
 “ me when the Compass was first known
 “ among them, tho’ I made the Inquiry of
 “ the most learned Men in each Country.
 “ I have been from the *Indies* to *Persia*,
 “ in *Indian* Ships, when no European
 “ has been on Board but my self. The
 “ Pilots were all *Indians*, and they used
 “ the Fore-Staff and Quadrant for their
 “ Observations. These Instruments they
 “ have from us, and made by ours, they
 “ not in the least varying therefrom,
 “ except that the Characters are *Arabic* :
 “ And, by the way, I observe that the
 “ *Arabs* are the most skilful Navigators
 “ of all the *Asiatics* and *Africans* : But
 k 2 they

“ they nor the *Indians* make use of
 “ Charts, and indeed they do not much
 “ want them; some they have, but they
 “ are copied from ours, for they are
 “ quite ignorant of Perspective.

It seems most likely then that the *A-rabs*, in the first Ages of *Mohammedism*, had no knowledge of the Compass, and that they never sailed by Observation till they imbibed the Precepts of that Art from the Europeans : And certain it is, by the Testimony of our two Authors, and by that of all the Eastern Geographers, who often take notice of Courses and Distances, That they were formerly mere Coasters, or that when they did venture to leave the Land, it was for no great Run, and this is what made their Voyages so long and dangerous. They sailed from the *Persian* Gulf, and thence ranged along Shore quite down to the Point of *Malabar*, and having doubled it, whether they stood over for the Isles of *Andaman*, or made for some other Port in the Gulf of *Bengal*, they did not stir far from Land, and particularly as they came in with the Coast of *China*.

They were very solicitous about Islands and Anchoring-grounds, which our People now avoid as much as possible, that their Voyage may not be retarded, and themselves exposed to such dangers as they are in no fear of at Sea. The Built of the *Siraf* Shipping, as described by

by our Author, may satisfy us they were not calculated for the high Sea; for their Planks sewn, as we may say, together with Coco-nut Yarn, and almost destitute of Iron, could never have held in the tumbling Weather our Ships frequently meet with in those Seas.

We must not wonder then if the Discoveries the *Arabs* made by Sea, in six or seven hundred Years time, are not comparable to those of the *Portuguese, Castilians, Italians*, and, in a Word of all the European Nations, whom the Orientals commonly surpass in Industry; for the want of the Compass is ever an Obstacle in the way of long Runs.

From what has been said we may safely conclude That the *Arabs* did not venture far out to Sea; that they sailed by an inaccurate reckoning and the Observation of the Stars; that the little Knowledge they had of the Winds and Monsoons, made them often mistake in their Run and the Distance of Maritim Places, as sufficiently appears by their general Measure of a Day's Sail by Sea, which is so vague and uncertain that there is no reducing it to any fixed Standard: And that thus they only coasted it along, or at least that they seldom left the Shore out of Sight behind them; and that, consequently, they are not to be supposed the Original Discoverers of the true Course to be steered for the Great *Indies* and *China*.

*The Arabs
inaccurate
in their
Reckonings
at Sea.*

Now if we examin into the Causes of this Imperfection in their Science of Navigation, there are two which principally occur to us. *First*, The *Arabs* being no great Inventors, as appears by the little Progress they made in Learning, beyond what they had from the *Greek* Books translated into their Tongue, found no Instruction in those same Books to make then Navigators. For the *Greeks*, tho' they had potent Fleets, knew nothing of launching out into the Sea, and many of the Learned think they hardly ever ventured upon the *Ocean*, but confined themselves to the *Mediterranean*. The *Carthaginians* also were no more than Coasters, and tho' it were certain *Hanno* ran down to the Cape of *Good-Hope*, and that the *Table Hill* is the *Θεῶν ὄχημα*, or *Chariot of the Gods* he discovered; we cannot conceive this Voyage to have been otherwise performed than from Headland to Headland; as the *Portuguese* first did it. The general Form and Construction of the ancient Ships was not adapted to the Ocean; for they all went with Oars which are not only useless but dangerous in Voyages of Length. The Description of the great Coast of the *Indies*, or of the *Erythæan* Sea, as *Arrian* has left it us; and what we read in *Pliny* concerning the Course steered by the Ships, that traded to the *Indies* from the *Red-Sea*, can only confirm us in our Opinion. For if we except the Voyage
to

Hannon
Peripl.
Ramus.
Præfat.
in Peripl.
Navig.
Tom. I.

to *Taprobana* or *Ceylon*, with the Wind called *Hippalus*, that is, by observing the Monsoon, it does not appear they knew how to keep a Reckoning. The *Arabs* therefore could pick nothing out of the *Greek Books* to inform them of this necessary Art, and their very little acquaintance with the *Latin* would not allow them to understand what *Pliny* and those he quotes had written. For the Book they have under the Name of *Pliny*, is so very unlike the Original, that we can scarce believe it was ever in the Hands of the Person who pretended to give it in *Arabic*. The *Arabs* then only continued to go from the *Red-Sea* to *Malabar* and *Ceylon*, but in time venturing farther than the *Romans* had been, they, from Isle to Isle, at length discovered the Shores of *China*.

In the second Place, nor the *Kalifs* nor the *Soltans* who succeeded them, ever aimed at any great matter of Power by Sea, so that the Navigation was wholly left to the Merchants.

These Princes never endeavoured to have Potent Fleets, as having no call for them, and as sitting possessed of so vast and so rich an Empire, that they could have no Temptation to make farther Discoveries or new Conquests beyond Sea, or to consult the Interest of their trading Subjects by procuring them the Benefits their Protection might have derived on them in foreign Parts. Some time, in-

Their Kalifs never undertook any great Matters by Sea.

deed, after the first Wars beyond Sea, the *Soltans* of *Egypt* and *Syria* began to have some Shipping and even obtained some signal Advantages over the Christians at Sea; but it is plain That a Sea Strength had been of but insignificant Use in the other principal Affairs, and Revolutions of this great Empire.

They had every thing in abundance and Indian Commodities were brought to them.

To all this it may be added, That the general abundance of Things necessary for Life, or to supply Luxury in the *Mohammedan* Provinces was such, that they had no Occasion to expose themselves to the Dangers of a long Voyage to go in quest of them to the Places whence they came. For the *Indians* brought by Land to *Cabul* and some other Places, and by Sea to *Bassora* and *Siraf*, all the Commodities of the *Indies* and *China*. Furs were brought into *Syria* by the Provinces of *Adarbejan*, by *Curdistán* and other Parts more Northerly. Great quantities of the same they also had from the *Barbarian* Coast, by the way of the *Red-Sea*, from whence a great Trade was carried on with them all over *Egypt*. From the same Places they had Gold Dust; Gold also they had from the Mines of *Sofala*, brought to them by the Negroes who traded with *Egypt* by the way of the Desert, or from Port to Port quite to the *Red-Sea*. From *Ceylon* and the *Indies* they, by their Trade with the *Chinese* and *Indian* Merchants, had Silk,
rich

rich Stuffs, and many other Manu-
factures; Drugs and Spices. With this Stock
of Goods they drove a very confi-
derable Commerce, by the way of *Ka-
bira* [*Cairo*,] with the *Venetians*, the *Ge-
noese*, the *Catalans*, and the *Greeks*; and
therefore they were under no necessity
of going so far as *China*. Wherefore it
is very probable That the first Adventu-
rers that undertook this Voyage were
urged thereto by the Calamities of the
Civil Wars, which, having reduced many
Families to Want, obliged them to seek some
Livelihood by Trade, deprived as they
were of all other means of Subsistence. And
accordingly one of our Authors observes
of the *Arab* who had the long Confer-
ence with the Emperor of *China*, That
he set out upon his Voyage after the
Destruction of *Bassora*. There is some
reason also to believe that the *Syrian*
Merchants who went to *China*, and whom
we shall mention hereafter, came to the
same Resolution upon the very same Ac-
count.

It remains now that we examin whe-
ther or no the *Chinese* had a different
way of Sailing, and how far they went.
If we hearken to some Authors, they
came as far as the Cape of *Good-Hope*,
and formerly Peopled and conquered the
great Island of *St. Lawrence*. It is pre-
tended also That they had the use of
the Compass a long time before us; and
that so they were able to undertake long
Voy-

*The Navi-
gation of the
Chinese.*

Voyages, and the rather as the Built of their Ships speaks them to have been more Skilful in nautical Architecture than any of the other Orientals. We have given you the Testimony of Fath. *Martini* as to the very ancient Knowledge they boast to have had of the Magnetic Needle; and our Authors assure us, That in their time the *Chinese* came to the *Persian* Gulf. So they had sailed along throughout the Islands; and even had Settlements upon some of them, remains of which are at this Day upon *Malacca* and in other Parts. We read also in some Authors, That they conquered *Cochinchina*, and the Neighbouring States quite to *Pegu*; and others assure us That those States formerly paid Tribute to *China*. Now tho' the best Authors acquaint us that they marched their Armies by Land, it is nevertheless certain that, long before the Discoveries of the last Ages, they had Fleets which made them Masters of all those Seas, and it is thought they once subdued the Empire of *Japan* by means of their Shipping. But as it is above twelve hundred Years ago since this People, not very Warlike by Nature, have given over all thoughts of enlarging their Empire, they, as considerable Navigators as they were, made no Conquests among the Islands upon the Coasts of the Eastern Ocean, and have been very unwilling to admit Strangers among them under the pretence of Trade.

It

It is commonly reported that this Prohibition is almost as old as the Empire, and yet by the great number of *Mohammedans, Jews, Indians,* and even *Syrian Christians* that settled among them, it appears that this same Prohibition was not very strictly minded, as may be clearly gathered by all the Circumstances in our two Authors.

Navarette thinks they sailed no farther than the Straits of *Sincapor*, or *Sunda*, because their Ships are not strong enough to live in the heavy Seas of the great *Indian Ocean*; and will have it that there is not the least room to imagin they ever reached *Ceylon*, and much less *St. Lawrence* or *Madagascar*, as several of the *Portuguese* Navigators at first gave out. He adds, that they had never undertaken such long Voyages to conquer far distant Countries, seeing they never were inclined to spread the Fame of their Arms; that the Trade of Metals, Silks and the principal Drugs, could not have been their Motive for such Undertakings, seeing they were in *China* itself abundantly supplied with all these Things; and that in short it does not appear they had any Instruments proper to take Observations, or that they ever knew how to divide, or project Sea Charts.

But our first Author partly destroys the Conjectures of *Navarette* by assuring us That in his Time the *Chinese* Ships came to *Siraf*, tho' they dared not go farther, because

cause of the bad Weather, and great Seas they could not endure, and that thus they did not offer to go quite up to *Bassora*, or into the *Red-Sea*. As for the *Portuguese* Writers who would have it they failed as far as the Cape of *Good Hope*, they built their Assertion upon the uncertain Foundation of some Manners and Customs among the *Cafres* and People of the East Coast of *Afric*, which, as they thought, had some Resemblance of what they had observed among the *Chinese*. This is a Matter of great Obscurity, and can never be cleared up till we are more exactly informed of the *Chinese* History than we are.

It is very extraordinary also that the *Arabs* should have been eight Hundred Years acquainted with all the Seas of *India*, and yet never leave a Sea-Chart behind them, to ascertain their Discoveries, and guide their Posterity: And yet it does not seem that they drew up any Charts in the first Times, and we have very great Reason to suppose they are indebted for this Piece of Art to the Occidentals, it being but seldom that we meet with their Charts above three Hundred Years old.

Of the Sea-
Charts and
Maps of
the Orientals.

These Charts are uncommon enough, and the very best of them are so imperfect, that the worst we have in our old Manuscripts, are far more accurate than the nicest of the *Arabs* and *Persians*; for they afford neither Bearings, nor the Course of Rivers, nor Order, nor Method. The best

best of them are those which consist of Squares, produced by the mutual Intersection of Parallels and Meridians, in the Midst of which is the Name of each principal City. They themselves have been sensible of their Ignorance in this Particular, and no sooner did the *Europeans* print their Maps than the *Orientals* put a great Value upon them: They have even endeavoured to make them their own, by writing the Names of the Places in their own Characters and Tongue, by the common Names current with us.

In the Commentaries of *Alfonso d' Albuquerque*, we read of a *Moorish* Pilot, at *Calicut*, who had a very exact Draught of all the Coasts of the *Indies*; and it is credible, that the *Arabs*, who, by *Egypt* and *Syria*, had a continual Commerce with the *Europeans*, had, by the *Venetians* and *Genoese*, in those Days the greatest Navigators in *Europe*, been taught some Parts of Navigation, which they may have applyed in their Voyages to *India* and *China*. But these are very extraordinary Instances; for they had so little improved upon what they borrowed from our Seamen, That ever since the Discovery of the *Indies*, they have thrown aside their own Charts to make use of ours, which they prefer to those they may have drawn up from their own Observations.

We must judge of the maritim Skill of a Nation by the length of their Voyages, their Discoveries, and bold Attempts,

The Arabs made no great Discoveries by like Sea.

like those of the *Portuguese*, the *English* and *Dutch*, which had seemed incredible to the Ancients: The *Arabs* have undertaken nothing of the kind since the Rise of their Empire. They went into *Afric* under the Protection of the Governor of *Egypt*, who sent a Guard with them through the Desert. Their Passage over into *Spain* was so mere a Trifle that it is not worth the naming, and even for that, it seems, they made use of Christian Ships. The Conquest of *Majorca*, *Minorca*, and *Ivica*, was compassed a long time after, when the *Arabs* had by their Slaves and Renegadoes been taught what to do with a Ship: But all these maritim Enterprises, consisted of no more than embarking a Parcel of Troops on board of Flat-bottomed Vessels, they had scarce any other, and landing with Discretion. Their Voyages to *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Calabria* were to the full as easy. Their Fleets did not then sweep the Seas, there were then but few Corsairs, and when the Christian Princes began to fit out any considerable Strength, the *Mohammedans* were unable to stand against them; but in a very short Time were driven from their Conquests, a certain Sign of the weakness of their Navy.

*Their most
formidable
Sea Armament.*

The most formidable Power they ever had at Sea before the middle of the Sixteenth Century, when they began to be dreaded in the Mediterranean, was that fitted out by the *Grand Signior*, in the Year MD XXXVI, under the Command of *Soliman* Basba,

Basha, to drive the *Portuguese* from their *Indian* Conquests. This Fleet failed from *Suez*, and reached *Diu*, which *Soliman* besieged with the unfortunate Event related at large in the *Portuguese* Writings. But, besides that this Expedition was set on foot above forty Years after the Discovery of the *Indies*, there was so great a Number of Christian Seamen and Officers on board of this Fleet, that we may fairly ascribe to them all the Honour of this Voyage.

The *Arabian* Colonies discovered on the Coasts of *India*, since the *Portuguese* sailed thither, have made some believe they went to those Parts by Sea, and that they made their Settlements much in the same Manner the *Portuguese* conquered and Peopled a vast Extent of Country from Cape *Bojador* quite to *China*; but it is certain, these Settlements were owing to a very different Origin. The *Arabs* were at *Sofala* and *Mosambique* before the Discovery of the Cape of *Good-Hope*; and it was no very difficult Matter for those who were in *Afric* and in *Egypt*, to go down to the East Coast, which for many Ages had been famed for Trade. Thus it was that they peopled the *Egyptian* Side of the *Red-Sea*; because the Caravans of that great Province came usually down thither to trade with the *Persian* Merchants, who brought them all Sorts of Commodities from the the *Indies* and *China*, which they exchanged with them for those of *Egypt* and *Christendom*. They were Masters of *Ara-*
bia,

Their Colo-
nies in A-
fric and
the Indies.

bia, Persia, and all the Provinces which extend quite to the *Indies*, and so it was easy for them to have travelled from Kingdom to Kingdom, till they got to *China*. Had they been possessed of great Fleets to make them Masters of the Sea, it is very likely they would have undertaken the Conquest of this Country, as they did by all those they could get at with their Arms; but we do not understand by their Histories, nor even by the *Portuguese* Accounts, that their most considerable Cities were owing to any Thing besides Trade and Religion. It was Trade that formed the *Arabian* Colonies of *Monbaza*, *Quiloa*, and *Mosambique*, and some other Places on the Way to the Great *Indies*, where the first Families increased to that Degree, That, in Process of Time, they made a good Part of the Inhabitants of the Places. Religion also gave Birth to some Settlements, when Idolatrous Princes were persuaded to *Mohammedism* by Fakirs, who, as we shall observe hereafter, often devoted themselves to such Missions. Under these two Pretences did the *Mohammedans* get footing in several considerable Ports of the *Indies*. But, tho' they were in great Favor with the Princes, were very rich, and partook largely in the Government, they were never considered as the predominant Part, as they had not obtruded themselves by Conquest.

Moham-
medan
Settlements,

It is somewhat hard to account for the several *Mohammedan* Settlements upon the Coast

Coast of *Afric*, between the Cape of Good-Hope and the *Red-Sea*. These are of very obscure Rise, and of a very different Nature from those which brought the greatest Part of *Asia* and *Afric* under their Yoke. They were neither erected nor aided by the Princes or Governors of Provinces, equal in Authority to Tributary Kings, wherefore History has no Mention of them: And so little do we know of the interior *Afric*, that we cannot well decide the Way the first *Mohammedans* may have taken to the East Coast; the little we know of the History of these petty Kingdoms, we have from the Industry of the famous Historian *John de Barros*, who met with some of their Chronicles.

The *Arabians* subdued *Egypt* in the very first Century of their *Hejra*; and some Years afterwards they made a Conquest of *Afric*, were Masters of *Arabia*, and of all the Ports of the *Red-Sea*. There is some room then to believe that this stirring, this indefatigable and avaricious People, trading at first upon the Coast with the Negroes, understood they had their Gold from the Mines of *Sofala* and *Monomatapa*, that Ivory abounded in the Country, and that great Wealth might be thence accumulated; this was surely the Rise of the first *Arabian* Colonies in those Parts, tho' just at what Time we cannot say. It was easy for them to settle upon this Coast; because the Negroes who lived in the Upland had no Towns, but dwelt in Hutts
1
like

Abulfed.
Geogr.
Pers. Kaf-
wini.

The Cities
they built
upon the
Coast.

like Nomads. It is thought indeed, that their first considerable Settlement was at *Magadoxo*, a City known, tho' very obscurely, by the *Arabian* Geographers, which must have been first inhabited, because of its advantageous Situation.

The *Bedouin* or *Bedwin* Arabs had wandered to the uttermost Parts of *Egypt*, of *Nubia*, and, perhaps, even of *Barbary*, and had settled towards the East Coast; where they lived, in their ancient Manner, under Tents, feeding of Flocks, which were their chief Support, while they cultivated some Trade with the *Cafres*; but the Barbarity of these *Cafres* made them edge by Degrees to the Coast, and there build a City whose beginnings are to us unknown. After this, these same *Arabs* strengthened by others, built *Brava*, and *Monbaza*, and some other Cities of the Coast quite to *Quiloa*.

Decad. I.
l. I.

These Colonies, according to one of the Histories of the Country cited by *Barros*, had been settled about the Year CCCXX of the *Hejra*, or DCCCCXXXII of *Christ*. About the Year of the *Hejra* CCCC, of *Christ* MIX, a *Persian* Prince, younger Brother to the Soltan of *Shiraz*, came to settle at *Quiloa*. *Barros* calls Soltan *Hofen*, the Father of this Prince, King of *Shiraz*; but at the Time he speaks of he could be only *Khan* or tributary Prince of *Shiraz*, subject to Soltan *Addulat*, of the Family of *Buiya*, who was Lord of all *Persia*, and the principal *Mohammedan* Provinces

Provinces of the *Upper Asia*, from the Year of the *Hejra* CCCCIV, or of *Christ* MXIII, to the Year CCCCXI, of *Christ* MXIX, and the same succeeded him to the Year of the *Hejra* CCCCLXXXVIII, of *Christ* MXCIV. It is also said, that these *Persians* called themselves *Amozaydi*, or Followers of *Zaid*, the chief of a Sect which clashed with the *Arabs* and the *Africans*; but it is likely we must read *Imamzada*, as if they were descended from *Ali*, by some one of the *Imams* or Pontifs of the *Persian* Sect; this Difference was the Cause that this new Colony of *Persians* went to the Place where they afterwards built *Quiloa*.

Those at *Magadoxo* were the first that discovered the Gold Trade at *Sofala*, one of their Ships being horfed thither by the Currents: but they did not make the Discovery professedly, or on set purpose, tho' they had some Knowledge of it; because they dared not go near *Cape Currents*, which being still a dangerous Navigation, was abundantly more so to those who made as little free with the Offing as possible. The Kings of *Quiloa* made Discovery of a good Part of the Coast, and became Masters of *Monbaza*, *Melinda*, and the Isles of *Pemba*, *Zanzibar*, *Monfra*, *Comro*, and some others; they even sent some Colonies over to the Island of *St. Lawrence*, and their chief Residence was at *Sofala*. These *Persian* Adventurers, or their Descendants, were in Possession, here,

Barros.

Decad. I.
l. 8. c. 5.

long before the *Portuguese* found out the Way to the *Indies*: And other Colonies, at different Times, from *Persia* and *Arabia*, did also seat themselves on many Parts of this Coast, and most of the Cities were so many Republics or little Kingdoms, when discovered by *Vasco de Gama*. Some of them were *Sonnis* or of the *Arabian* Sect, others were *Imamis*, or of the *Persian*; and these religious Dissensions, as well as a Jealousy of each other in Trade, stirred them to great Wars, which it seems the other *Arabs* knew nothing of, or any way concerned themselves with.

*They force
the Cafres
into the
Country.*

The *Mohammedans* being thus in Possession of the whole Coast down to Cape *Currents*, obliged the *Cafres* to retire into the Country. It was seldom these *Cafres* came down to the Sea-Side, except to look for *Ambergreese*, which the Sea threw up at certain Times: But they found it also more Southerly, and trucked it with the *Mohammedans*, to whom they also brought Ivory, Gold-Dust, and Tygers, Leopards, and Lions Skins, which they had from the Desert.

*What we
know of the
Origin of
the Mo-
hamme-
dan Settle-
ments upon
the Coast of
India.*

It seems as if, in the third Century of *Mohammedism*, the Towns we are speaking of were not yet built, and that the Trade was immediately negotiated with the Negroes themselves by the *Egyptian* Merchants of the Red-Sea, and the Coast of *Arabia*. This Coast was as yet called no more than the Country of the *Zinges*; and the Name of *Zanguebar*, since imposed on it,

it, seems to be given by the first Navigators who came thither from *Persia*. *Bar* in the *Indian* Tongue signifies a Coast, as *Abulfeda* and the other Eastern Geographers have observed: And the *Perhans* who were acquainted with the *Malabar* and some other Coasts so called by the *Indians*, called this Country of Negroes *Zingebar* or *Zinjebar*, if we pronounce it as the *Arabs* do, or *Zinguebar* as the *Persians*. All the Shores Northward and then Eastward quite to the River *Indus*, were in Subjection to the *Mohammedans*: And from the *Indus* down to Cape *Comorin*, they met with *Moors* in many Places, but particularly at *Calicut*. *Barros* relates, that *Sarama Payrimal* being seduced to *Mohammedism*, and being desirous to dye at *Mecca*, divided *Malabar*, his Dominions, between his Children and Relations, and that he gave *Calicut* to one of his Nephews who was his chief Heir, together with the Title of *Samorin*, or Emperor of *Malabar*.

D. 1. 1. 9.
c. 5.

The *Moors* coming to *Coulam* to trade, this King *Payrimal* gave them *Calicut* where they kept their grand Warehouses, not only of the Pepper and Ginger the Country abundantly produces, but also of all the Drugs and Spices which were brought from the Islands, and the uttermost Parts of the East. This Settlement and the Veneration the *Samorins*, who succeeded *Sarama Payrimal*, had for the *Moors*, gave them a great Sway at *Calicut*,

Their first
Settlements
there owing
to Trade.

and upon all the Coast, where they made Allyances with the Principal *Indians*, who thought it an Honour to give them their Daughters in Marriage. They insinuated themselves also into a great Interest with the Princes of the different Parts of the Coast, as *Idalcan*, *Nizamaluco*, *Cotalmaluco*, *Madramaluco*, for being at perpetual War with each other, they made great account of the *Moors*, and endeavoured all they could to engage them in their Service, they being, in those Times, the best Soldiers in all the *Indies*. Most of the *Patans* or Kings of the *Indies* were Idolaters, nor had *Mohammedism* taken any deep Root in the Country, nor did it till King *Ekbar*, in the beginning of the Seventeenth Century, made a Conquest of most of these States.

From Cape *Comorin* Eastward, the *Portuguese* did not meet with such Swarms of *Moors*; nevertheless they were settled upon *Malacca*, upon several Parts of *Sumatra*, and among the *Molucca's*; but there was scarce any of them in most of the other Kingdoms. They were already at *Canton*, and in the other chief Ports, when the *Portuguese* arrived, but according to the Testimony of our two Authors, they had been there ever since the CCXXX Year of the *Hejra*.

They had
four Ways
of settling
themselves
in the *Indies*.

From these Premises we deduce That the *Arabs* formed their Settlements four several Ways; by Conquest, by Discovery, by Trade, and by Mission. By the first Means

Means they possessed themselves of all the Provinces which made their vast Empire: By the second they got footing in *Afric* down to *Cape Currents*, among the poor unarmed *Cafres* who had it not in their Power to prevent them from seizing on what Parts they saw good: Their Colonies of *Magadoxo*, *Brava*, and *Quiloa* were somewhat in the Nature of ours in these latter Times; but not so difficult to maintain, because of the Proximity of the *Red-Sea*, whence the *Arabs* had all Sorts of Assistance. By the two other they seated themselves in all the other Parts, but more especially by Commerce. These Voyages were not in those Days so safe and so frequent; wherefore the Merchants were under a necessity of making a long Stay at the principal Scales, where they took to them Wives, their Religion allowing them a number; these new Families brought on others, and the Princes being sensible it was greatly for their Advantage to draw the Trade of *Persia*, *Arabia*, and at the same time of *Egypt*, and *Europe*, by the *Red-Sea*, into their own Ports, these Merchants met every where with the kindest Usage they could wish. These Idolatrous Princes, confirmed in their old Superstitions, were not at all scrupulous about differences in Religion, but admitted all indifferently. So they readily allowed their Subjects to embrace *Mohammedism*, which they preferred to the rest; because of the hopes these *Arabs* gave them

them of Protection from the Soltans, whose Power was known in the remotest East: Even Princes themselves made profession of *Mohammedism* in troublesome Times, that the *Moors* might join them; for in latter Days they were so multiplied, that they alone peopled whole Cities, or a part of the most considerable. Thus this Religion, which has nothing very inconvenient in it, did by little and little obtain in many Parts; and at length received an access of Power, when some of its Professors being raised to the first Posts in the Courts of *Cambaya* and *Guzarat*, invited a greater number of those Asiatic *Turks* called *Rumis*, and even seized on some Posts, as did *Malic Az*, who raised a considerable Settlement at *Diu*, from whence he a long time infested the *Portuguese*.

Their Settlements
that were
owing to
Trade and
to Religion.

By Trade and Religion the *Arabs* got footing in some Parts of *Malabar*, as has already been noted, and by the same Means they came to be very considerable upon *Malacca*. They first went thither as Merchants, and some of them there fixing their Abode, gained many of the Idolaters over to *Mohammedism*. From *Malacca* they sailed round to the *Molucca's*, and having prevailed on the Kings of *Tidore* and *Ternate*, together with several others to join with them in Religion, they reaped great Benefits from these Princes, whom the concerns of Trade, and the Protection these *Moors* gave them room to hope, confirmed in *Mohammedism*. According to the

the Portuguese Writers they had not been long upon the *Molucca's*, before our Discovery of the *Indies*.

They had been in *China* above five Hundred Years before, and, according to our two Authors, they were there very numerous; but the Severity of the *Chinese* Laws prevented them from propagating their Faith with the same Freedom they had been allowed in the *Indies*: So that they did not convert the *Chinese*; they could obtain nothing farther there than the free Exercise of their Religion. The great number of them, before the Year CCC of the *Hejra*, sufficed to People a Part of the chief Cities of *China*, where the *Portuguese* found them.

Their Settlement in China not raised by Religion.

Our Subject naturally leads us on to say something of the manner how the *Mohammedans* extended their Sect to the Extremities of *Asia* and *Afric*. Now the Manner of this was widely different from the Way taken to proclaim the Gospel to the Universe, particularly by the Apostles in the first Ages of the Church: The Disciples of *Christ* were harmless, humble, poor, patient, and foes to Riches; and so averse were they to every sort of Violence, That many of the primitive Christians, moved by the Spirit of Meekness and Forbearance, forsook the Profession of Arms, deeming it unlawful to fight even with the Enemies of the State. The Apostles and their Disciples confined themselves to the pure Doctrine they had received

In what Manner they extended their Religion.

ceived from *Jesus Christ*; they exposed themselves to numberless Torments in Defence of it; they prayed for their Enemies, nor ever returned Evil for Evil; they hoarded not Wealth, and whatever the Believers deposited in their Hands, was faithfully distributed to the Poor: Thus was it the Gospel was first recommended to the World.

*The Rise
of Mo-
hamme-
dism.*

The first *Arabians* were of different Manners, and had a contrary way of thinking; but without entering into a Detail of the personal Qualities of *Mohammed* their Prophet, a turbulent ambitious Man; let it suffice that we draw you the exact Picture of their reputed Saints, and principal Friends to the *Koran*. Their whole Religion consisted in a scrupulous Observance of Times of Prayer, Ablutions; in bestowing of some Alms, and in fighting for the Establishment of their Empire. Their Sermons were very short, and when they came into a Country they declared themselves Companions of the Prophet, that they were come to exhort them to embrace the Religion he had taught, and to root them out if they refused. Thus was it the Conqueror of *Afric*, addressed himself to the *Africans*; and all the Propagators of this pernicious Sect have always talked after the very self same Rate. And thus was the *Koran* erected not only upon the Ruins of *Paganism* in *Arabia*; but also upon the Ruins of all States and Professions, and that, by Blood, by Plunder, and by all the Cruelties to be imagined. History

History does not inform us that the *Mohammedans* used any other Means to spread their Doctrin. It is true, indeed, that in some of their Books we read of Disputes they had with the Christians of the Seventh Century, in which they boast of confounding them. *Emir Cond*, in his History of *Ali*, tells us, this Kalif disputed with a Christian Monk, and so clearly, from the Gospel, convinced him That *Mohammed* was the *Paraclete* or Comforter promised by *Jesus Christ*, that the Monk embraced *Mohammedism*: But such Examples, as liable as they are to doubt, are so very uncommon, that nothing can thence be inferred to satisfy us they made as many Profelytes by the Strength of Argument and Conviction, as by Might and Victory. In the Writings of the *Eastern* Christians we have Examples, and even the Acts of many Disputes upon Religion, but ever to the Advantage of the Christians. Accordingly the *Mohammedans* but seldom recurred to this Way of drawing Men into their Belief; it could not answer their Purpose, and varied from the Beginnings of their Religion.

When they were unable to propagate their Faith by Arms, as they had done in a Part of *Asia* and *Afric*, it does not appear They had recourse to any Thing but Cunning, Treachery, and their own Interest; they did not venture to condemn the Religion by Law established in a Country where they were Strangers, on the contrary,

They did not spread their Doctrin by Conviction and Instruction.

They were very quiet about their Religion where they were weakest.

contrary, they were very cautious how they offended those they dreaded. But they had nothing to fear in the Sea Ports of the *Indies*; for the native Idolaters are not apt to take Umbrage at religious Differences, and have never made it their Endeavour to draw Strangers into their several Sects. The *Fakirs* or *Mohammedan* Devotees were by no means prone to the rash Doings they sometimes ventured on for the Sake of Religion; and if we make a Scrutiny into the Number of their Martyrs, we shall find them but few in Number, if we except those who dyed Sword in hand, who are all honoured with that Dignity. It hapned also, but seldom in the Primitive Times, That Dervises or *Fakirs* undertook long Journeys in the Cause of *Mohammedism*: But when any Prince was disposed to embrace it, then they sent for some who made an End of instructing him; and, upon *Tidore*, the *Portuguese* found one of this Sort, who was come to wash away the Lees of the old Idolatry in that Kingdom. The *Moors* expected to get by it if they undertook to propagate their Religion; and made themselves Masters of the Trade, by promising to defend the Princes against their Enemies; and sending for further Supplies of their own People, they added to their Strength, and often reigned Chiefs of the Ports that had received them as Foreign Dealers. Sometimes, under the Mask of Devotion, they persuaded the Princes, and the

the most considerable Personages to go Pilgrims to *Mecca*, or to send rich Presents thither; by which means they had so advanced their Affairs in the principal Empories, that, when the *Portuguese* arrived, they transacted all the Trade of the East. In this flourishing State, they without difficulty drew over to them a great many Persons, and particularly Slaves and Mestices, who thereby became exempt from all Tribute, as they claimed the advantages at first granted to the *Mohammedans* to allure them into the Ports.

By these Means and Methods did the *Mohammedans* propogate the *Koran*, which has still more extensively prevailed since the time the *Mogul* Emperors became Masters of the Kingdoms of *Cambaya*, *Guzarat* and many others, where this Sect had not yet admission, and where it was mistrusted, feeble, and in no condition to make any Attempt.

Now the difference between these Missions and those of the primitive Christians is obvious, as much as some modern Authors have dared to make the Comparison; they are not even to compare to those of latter Times.

Fath. *Naverette* writes that in his time there were about five hundred thousand *Moors* in *China*; and believes they had not been in the Country above five hundred Years, and that they had considerably multiplied by Marriages: He adds that

that many of them took Degrees in the Sect of *Literati*, but that the rest considered them as Apostates, whence it is plain they thought this Sect incompatible with their Religion.

By what has been hitherto offered, we may pretty clearly discern how the *Mohammedans* may have at first got into *China*; and it seems that they did not force an Admittance as elsewhere, but insinuated themselves under the pretences of Trade chiefly; and that the Trade driven by the *Upper Tartary* was the most usual and expeditious: But we cannot tell exactly what this Rout may have been, because not only our Authors of the middle Ages and the modern *Greeks*, but also the *Arabs* and the *Persians* have under the denomination of *Turks* and *Tartars* comprehended many Nations of discordant Manners, Tongues, and Religion, besides that the most able Geographers have never pricked down the Limits of the Extent they place them in.

Many Nations comprehended under the Name of Tartars.

They most of them say that the Country of *Shash* is the boundary of the Provinces subject to the *Moslems*, and confines upon *Turkestan*. Then when they speak of *Turkestan* or *Tokarestan*, which is the same * they agree in nothing about it,

* Our Author here seemingly contradicts what he asserts in a Passage before, but he here understands that tho' these two were distinct Provinces considered as such, yet as they
but

but in saying It is a very vast Province beyond the *Oxus* and Country of *Balk*; and that it reaches to *Badakshan*, which is thirteen Days distant therefrom. In *Tokarestan* they place a great number of Nations, which they comprehend under the general Name of *Turks*; and the chief of them are these. The People of *Bujak*, free, very barbarous, and their Country twelve Days in Extent: The *Najakis*, or *Nogais*, who inhabit a very great Country, a Month in Dimension: Those of *Ferak*, in a Country of the same Extent; they have a King and are *Mohammedans* of the Sect of *Ali*, whose Descendants they pretend to be, and whom they take to be the God of the *Arabs*.

Abulfeda
Yacuti
EbnHaw-
kal, and
other Ara-
bian Geo-
graphers.

Then they come to the *Tartars*, properly so called, whom they write *Tatars*; cruel, inhuman, lawless and without Religion, except that most of them worship the Sun; in Language they differ from the rest: They speak also of those they call *Tagazgaz*, a Name variously written, from the aptness of taking one Letter for another, in a Character wherein a Point or two differently placed quite alters the Pronunciation: Others they have, called *Hakak*; these are free, and worship the

were included in each other, they are to be considered but as one when either of the Names is usurped in a general Sense.

Stars

Stars as did the ancient *Arabs*, and some of them were Christians: Others, called *Hettis*, who inhabit a Tract of twenty Days Extent, more polite and ingenious than the preceding: Those of *Harkir* the same, they had a King greatly respected by them, in whose presence no Man appeared till he had attained his fortieth Year: The *Larkanjes*, the *Catlajes*, and some others are as unknown: The *Caz*, who were Christians, and a very potent People, formerly subject to the *Seljukian Soltans*; but who waged War with *Soltan Sinjar* the Son of *Malec-Shah*, defeated him and took him Captive, tho after a Years Confinement he made his Escape: The Geographers speak also of the *Bahara* or *Yahara* who possessed a Country of forty Days Journey, among whom there were *Christians*, *Jews*, *Mohammedans*, *Idolaters*, and *Magians* or worshippers of *Fire*: Many more are named in History, the *Moguls*, the *Hiathelites*, the *Kipjaks*, the *Alains*, the *Karis* and *Markis*; in fine many numerous Hoards who were subdued by *Jenghiz-Khan*, but who before obeyed *Ung Khan*, whom he overthrew in Battle.

This detail may evince it impossible to know what People our Authors and even the Orientals mean, when they use the general Denomination of *Turks* and *Tartars*. And if in Europe we are at so great a loss to trace out the ancient Cities, and the many Nations whose
Names

Names stand recorded in History, we must be infinitely more to seek when we attempt to recover Cities and Countries so very imperfectly known to the Ancients, who have so often changed both Name and Master, and who have been so harrassed and ravaged by continual Wars.

Now, as it may be observed, among the People and Nations, so comprehended under the general Denomination of *Tartars*, there was a great Number of Christians, not only when *Jenghiz Khan* erected his Empire but long before this Epoch : For in the History of the *Nestorians* we read that *Timothy*, their Catholic, who succeeded *Hananjashua*, the same mentioned in the *Chinese* and *Syriac* Inscription, wrote to the *Khan* or Emperor of the *Tartars* and to some other Princes of *Turkestan*, exhorting them to embrace the Christian Faith, which he did together with two hundred thousand of his Subjects. We may be sure these People were true *Tartars* or *Turks*, the same Catholic being consulted by the Bishop, he sent into the Country, concerning the manner how he was to make them keep Lent, and celebrate the Service ; they being accustomed to Milk and Flesh, and unused to Corn and Wine. His answer was, that in Lent they should abstain from Flesh; but that during the same they might have Milk as usual ; and that as to the celebration

m

they

they should absolutely provide themselves with Bread and Wine. From that time we, in the Ecclesiastic *Notitia* of the *Nestorian* Church, have a Metropolitan of *Turkestan*, one of *Tangut*, one of *Chanbalig* or *Cambalu*, and one of *Casgar* and *Nowakat*; as they had Metropolitans they must needs have had Bishops under them; and accordingly we find one called *Mar Danba*, in the History of *Jenghiz Khan*; *Mar* is conferred on Saints and Bishops, and *Danba* is a proper Name, very common among the *Nestorians*, but not to signify a Town as *Jenghiz Khan's* Historian mistakes. The best *Arabian* Authors agree that *Cabul*, which they place in an extent of Country they call *Bamian*, whose Capital was half a Day from *Balk*, was the last City inhabited by *Moslems*, tho' pretty much blended with *Christians*, *Jews*, *Magians*, or *Worshippers of Fire*, and *Idolatrous Indians*. Now altho' the *Mohammedans* were very powerful in *Chorassan*, *Chowarazm*, the *Marwaralnabra* or *Transoxane*, and tho' among the *Turks* and *Tartars*, we just now mentioned, there were those who had received *Mohammedism*; their Number was but small, and unable to extend their Colonies into *China*, so that tho' in the Course of several Ages some of them may have gone thither by *Tartary* and have settled, it is more likely the body of them went through the *Indies*. We have taken notice of the Settlements

Abulfar.
p. 286.

Hist. of
Jenghiz
Khan p.
186.
Abulfed.
p. 522.

lements they had upon the Coast of *Afric*, and a Trade had been opened between *Persia* and *China* before, by the Canal described by our Authors : But the way was still made clearer for them, by the *Indian* Conquests of the *Gaznavid Soltans*, so called because the Seat of their Empire, which lasted one hundred and fifty Years, was at *Gaznah*, a City which some Geographers make the Capital of a Province of the same Name, while others place it in the Country of *Bamian*, and others in *Zablestaan* or *Gour* : For we cannot too particularly inform our Readers who have not applied to the Oriental Tongues, That the Eastern Geographers, even those who are cryed up for their Accuracy, are seldom of one Mind as to the Division of Provinces. The first of these *Soltans* was *Sabahtakin* whose Son, *Yaminaddulet Abulkasem Mahmud*, began his Reign in the Year of the *Hejra* CCCLXXXVII and of Christ DCCCXVII. The *Arabian* Historians and the *Persian* write that he compelled a great many *Indians* into *Mohammedism*, and among other things it is observed that he took the City of *Sumnat*, upon the Sea Shore, where there was an Idol which he ordered into Pieces. It is plain also that during the ceaseless Wars between these *Soltans*, and some others with their Neighbours, several of them, after a Defeat, took Refuge in the *Indies*. Whence this Part swarmed with *Mohammedans*, and

Cond. E.
mir Leb.
Tarikh

Leb. Tar.
rich. Con-
demir
Kazwini
Abulfe.
Geo. Per.
Abulfed.
n. 531.

especially after some of the Kings of *Indostan* had embraced their Faith, as did others in *Malabar*, *Malacca*, the *Moluccas*, and most of the circumjacent Islands; which we learn from the *Portuguese* Authors only, the *Arabians* having no mention at all about it.

They went
to China
both by Sea
and Land.

They went to *China* then partly by Land through *Turkestan*, and by Sea from *Siraf*, as we read in our Authors, to whom almost alone we are indebted for this Information. The System of *Bergeron*, and some Moderns that have followed him, is grounded upon a false Supposition That the *Arabs* knew and used the Compass a long time before us, a Notion countenanced by our latter Accounts of *China*, that tell us the *Chinese* had that piece of Knowledge, which is an empty Assertion. Our two Authors report that *Siraf* was the Boundary of the *Chinese* Navigation, and that they steered the same Course the *Arabs* did; creeping almost continually along Shore, and keeping the Land aboard as much as possible. So that the great number of *Mohammedans* at *Cansu*, when that City was sacked, had increased there by the means of Merchants from *Persia* and *Syria*, partly by Sea and partly by Land, who there enjoyed the free Exercise of their Religion, as well as the *Jews*, the *Christians* and *Indians*.

They did
not spread
their Doc-
trin in
China.

It is observable That the *Mohammedans* never attempted to spread their Doctrin

Strin in *China*, as they had done in other Parts; either restrained by the Laws which made it Penal, or unable to win over the *Chinese* who may have been more hard to convince than were afterwards the Kings and People of the Neighbouring Islands, who professed *Mohammedism* before the *Portuguese* found out the way to them. The *Mohammedan* Missionaries have never been numerous, and of the great number of Saints of their Sect, concerning whom they have long and tedious Stories, not one Soul ever exposed his Life in the Propagation of *Mohammedism*. This abominable Sect was established by Violence only, by Slaughter, and the Horrors of War, and thus was it that it diffused it self over all the Countries subdued by *Mohammed* and his Successors. Thus was it that *Yaminaddulet Mahmud* the Son of *Sabaftakin* conveyed it into a part of the *Indies* he conquered, since when it has insensibly over-ran the Country, but especially since the *Mogul* Emperors, descended of *Tamerlan*, have made public profession of it : Notwithstanding which, there are still a great number of Idolaters in *Indo-stan*, and in our Days there are many *Raja's* or *Indian* Princes who adhere to their old System, as do also most of the *Pattans* or Nobles, the *Banians* or Merchants, and the body of the common People.

By our last Accounts there is a great number of *Mohammedans* in *China*, and *Navarette* writes That in his time they

The number of Mohammedans in China.

were computed at above five hundred thousand, which is sufficiently confirmed by our *French* Missionaries. These assure us the *Chinese Mohammedans* take no Degrees, as do the rest of the *Literati*, to qualify them for Posts; and that this they observe out of a Religious Principle, thinking it unlawful to perform the *Chinese* Ceremonies, so long the Subject-matter of Dispute, and which, after a Deliberation of almost seventy Years standing, have been at length condemned by the Holy See. By several Accounts we are also informed That the *Mohammedans* who do take the Degrees, are rejected by the rest as Apostates, so that they on their part quite renounce the *Mohammedan* Faith, retaining nothing thereof but the aversion they have contracted to Swines Flesh.

A N

I N Q U I R Y

C O N C E R N I N G

The *J E W S* discovered in C H I N A.

OUR Authors observe that in the general Devastation of *China*, and particularly when *Cansu* was taken, a great number of *Christians*, *Jews*, *Mohammedans*, and *Farsis* [*Parsees*] were put to the Sword. In the preceding Inquiries we have discussed the Origin of *Christianity* and *Mohammedism* in this Country; but it is impossible to speak so positively concerning the *Jews* there; for the History of the Country affords no Light to guide us in this Research, the *Chinese* for the most Part, as is said, omitting all foreign Matter, or what relates to Strangers; and, if we may rely on the Testimony of the most learned *Jesuits*, their History is quite silent as to the Subject we are now upon: And yet there is a great number of *Jews* in *China*, as may be gathered from our two Authors, and

the rather as they are still in several Provinces, but particularly in the Trading Cities.

Trig. ubi
supra,

Fath. *Matthew Ricci*, whose Work contains the first genuin Informations we had concerning *China*, left behind him in his Memoirs, from whence *Trigaut* compiled his Book, *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas*, a very remarkable Story to our Purpose. A Jew of the City of *Caisamsu*, the Capital of the Province of *Honan*, coming to *Pekin* to take his Degrees, and hearing that this Stranger and his Companions adored one only God, and abhorred the Superstitions of the idolatrous Nations and the *Mohammedans*, had the Curiosity to pay him a Visit. Fath. *Ricci* conducting him into the Chappel, he there saw a Picture of the blessed *Virgin* with the Infant *Jesus* in her Arms, and a *St. John* near at Hand, and taking them for *Rebekah*, *Jacob*, and *Esau*, thought he knew them: And after the same Manner he guessed at Sight of the four Evangelists. The Father put several Questions to him, and by his Answers understood he professed the Old Law; and that he acknowledged himself an *Israelite*, and not a Jew: Whereupon Father *Ricci* concluded him a Descendant of the Ten Tribes carried away into Captivity, and dispersed over the uttermost Parts of the *East*. He shewed him the Bible of *Philipp II.* printed by *Plantin*, and this Jew knew the Hebrew Characters but could not read them,

He

He related that in the City whence he came, there were ten or twelve Thousand *Jewish* Families, who had a good handsome Synagogue, which they had lately rebuilt at a considerable Expence: That for five or six Hundred Years they had there preserved the *Pentateuch* written upon Rolls, which they held in great Veneration: That at *Hamcheu* the Capital of the Province of *Chequiang*, there was still a greater Number of *Israelites* and a Synagogue; That some also there were in other Provinces, but, that being destitute of Synagogues, they were greatly decreased in Number. We are told, that this *Jew* in pronouncing some *Hebrew* Words differed from our Manner, as in *Hierosolaim* and *Moseia*: He informed them That some of his Countrymen understood *Hebrew*, and among the rest a Brother of his: That for his Part, having, from his Youth up, applied himself to the *Chinese* Literature, he had neglected the other: He frankly confessed, that for this Reason he had been deemed unworthy to enter the Synagogue, by the Person who was Chief of it: But that he was not very solicitous about his Exclusion, provided he obtained his Doctors Degree.

It were to be wished Fath. *Ricci* or some other Missionary had been a little better acquainted with *Hebrew*; for by the reading of their Books, they might have known the Difference between these Copies which must have been ancient, and those at present

Voyages,
Tom. II.
 p. 316.
the Dutch
Edition.

sent in the Hands of the *Jews*. *Bernier* is of Opinion there may have been of them in the Kingdom of *Kasbemir*; and cites some Letters which Father *Busseus* the Jesuit, who was at *Dehli*, received from a German Jesuit at *Pekin*, which informed him he had seen some who had preserved Judaism and the Old Testament; who knew nothing of the Death of Jesus Christ, and who would have made the Jesuit their *Kakan*, if he would but have abstained from Pork. Now this Jesuit was Father *Adam Schall*, who lived above fifty Years in *China* with great Reputation, being a Mandarin of the first Order, and President of the Tribunal of Mathematics. He during his long Abode in the Country, by his Interest and by his Understanding, as well as his Successors in the same Employ, might have discovered something more than we have concerning the *Jews* in *China*; but they have neglected the Thing. It only appears, by what Father *Trigaut* writes, That their Number was not very great, and that it rather diminished than not, because many, to qualify themselves for Offices, conformed to the Religion of the Country: And it is remarkable that the *Jews* excluded those who applied themselves to the *Chinese* Studies, which were necessary to attain to their Degrees; by which it is plain they thought the Practices of the *Literati* not free from Idolatry; and the *Mohammedans*, who were more in Number, thought the same Way, and no one of them could take his Degrees

Degrees without renouncing *Mohammedism*.

Father Ricci who thought these *Israelites* of *Caifamfu* might be some Remains of the ten Tribes translated by *Shalmaneser*, does not seem to be much out of the Way.

Benjamin the Jew relates that in the Country of *Nisapor* there were some who pretended to be of the Tribes of *Dan*, *Zebulun*, *Asber*, and *Naphtali*: But we want many particulars to enable us to judge what there may be in this Notion, or whether it is a mere Conjecture or no. We should have their Books, we should know which they admit and which they are not acquainted with; For the *Israelites* of the ten Tribes could neither have nor acknowledge the Books of the Prophets which so severely reproach the Kings and People of *Israel* with their Idolatry; no more than what was written during and after the Captivity. Wherefore what Father *Trigaut* relates of the Jew, That he rehearsed the Stories of *Esther* and *Judith*, gives us to understand that he knew those Books of Holy Writ, which had been impossible if he had not been acquainted with the other *Jews*. In Itiner. p. 97.

But what Ricci says of the Story of *Judith* must not make us suspect his Veracity, because that Book is not in the *Hebrew Canon*; for the *Jews* had some Knowledge of it as appears by *de Voisin's* learned Preface on the *Pugio Fidei*, and by the *Hebrew Translations* of it that have been

An Inquiry concerning the Jews

been printed; and what is more, the *Jews* of *Persia* have a Version of it in the Language of that Country, whence it may have reached *China*.

Father *Ricci* afterwards sent a Brother *Jesuit*, a *Chinese* born, to the City of *Cai-famfu*, to inquire into the Truth of what the *Jew* had reported, and he found things to be exactly as he had said. He procured a Copy of the Beginning and Ending of the Books these *Jews* had in their Synagogue; and upon collating these Copies with the *Hebrew Pentateuch*, there appeared an exact Conformity of Passages and Characters between them, excepting, says *Trigaut*, that, according to the ancient Custom, these *Jews* had no Points. The Conformity of Character is a most certain Proof that these Books were not of the first Antiquity; and the Observation added, That they were written without Points is no Proof at all; for at this Day the *Pentateuchs* written upon great Rolls of Parchment, as the *Jews* have them in their Synagogues, are destitute of Points. So that from such uncertain Documents it is impossible to say whether the *Jews* went to *China* soon after the Transmigration of the Ten Tribes, or whether they came afterwards, as did the *Christians* and *Mohammedans*, which is most likely to have been the Case. For without enlarging on this Subject, we on all Sides learn That since the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, there is hardly a Country where they have not been
in

in great Numbers, besides those who were in *Persia* and *Egypt* before that Time.

Before *Mohammedism* there were whole Nations of them in *Arabia*, as may be proved by many Passages of the *Koran*, where they are mentioned. We have the Contest of *Gregentius*, Bishop of the *Saracens*, with a Jew called *Herbanus*, and by the History of his Life in the *Greek Menologies* and other Authors, we understand that he was sent to *Elefbaan*, King of *Ethiopia*, who was then at War with the Jew *Dunaan*, King of the *Homerites*, a great Enemy to the *Christians*, by the *Arabs* called *Dunaas*: But it is impossible to gather any help from the *Mohammedan* Authors about these Affairs; for all their Histories of the Times before their Prophet, are a Heap of gross Fables without the least Authority. We must therefore confine ourselves to the Time thereabouts, and to their Historians who have written since the Rise of their Empire.

Pocock.
Specim.
Hist. Arab.
P. 33.

The *Jews* were persecuted by the *Christian* Emperors, and especially by *Heraclius*, who put a very great Number of them to Death, because, say the *Arabs*, he was admonished to beware of a circumcised Nation, from whom he had every Thing to dread: This he construed of the *Jews*, not dreaming of the *Arabs*, who were many of them circumcised, as were afterwards those who followed *Mohammed*; for all the *Arabs* were not so. This drove a great Multitude of *Jews* into the Dominions

An Inquiry concerning the Jews

nions of *Persia*, where some of them had been ever since the first Captivity; and History informs us that they often stirred up those infidel Princes against the Christians: But they afterwards enjoyed more Liberty under the *Mohammedans*, who never disturbed them in the Exercise of their Religion; which was the Reason they multiplied greatly in all the Provinces of the *East*. And when the City of *Bagdad* was built by the Kalif *Almansur*, and became the Capital of the *Mohammedan* Empire, the *Jews* settled there, and became very wealthy, and very potent.

They thrived by various Means; many of them cultivated the Sciences, particularly Philosophy, Astronomy, and Physic; others concerned themselves with Trade, in which the Nation has ever been very industrious; and some got into the public Revenues and Customs, as Receivers and Inspectors. In a Word, they became so numerous and so potent, that as the Christians had obtained the Privilege to have their Patriarchs, they obtained almost the same for a Chief of their Nation they called *Rash Haggola*, or *Haggalut*, whence the *Arabs* have their *Ras al Falut*, or *Prince of the Exiles*, who exercised the same Jurisdiction over the *Jews* the Patriarchs did over the *Christians*.

*In Itine-
rar. p. 71.*

This is what Rabbi *Benjamin* is very diffuse on, but with too much exaggeration, after the Manner of the *Jews*, saying he had

had a plenary Authority and a kind of Prerogative over those of his Nation. Some *Jews* by this imaginary Prerogative of their Chiefs, have thought to elude the genuin Drift of *Jacob's* Prophecy, *The Scepter shall not depart from Judah*: But *Constantin l'Empereur* in the Preface to his Translation of *Benjamin's Travels*, takes Notice of some Passages of this kind, and refutes them very solidly; for not to mention that all their Authors agree They have had no Prince of the Line of *David* to govern them since the Destruction of the second Temple; the Testimony of Travellers, Ancient and Modern, confirm this Truth beyond all Contradiction: But the *Jews* for want of Proofs have embraced and ever made a great Stir about the first Reports which have from Time to Time prevailed of *Jewish* Princes that have been said to be discovered in far distant Parts.

One of the most remarkable Instances of this kind, was upon the first News that arrived in *Portugal* of the Discovery of the *Prestor John* or King of *Ethiopia*. Those who had been sent out reported that this Prince was of the Race of *Solomon*, that all his Subjects were circumcised, that they kept the Sabbath, that they abstained from the Flesh of Swine, and that they observed many *Jewish* Customs: And as there were two *Jews* among those who went on this Discovery they failed not to magnify every Object to their own People, who wanted nothing
more

An Inquiry concerning the Jews

to satisfy them there was a *Jewish* King in *Afric*, whence they deduced every Consequence that could flatter them. Thus Rabbi *Isaac Abarbinel*, who was then at *Lisbon*, did in some Parts of his Commentary upon the Prophets, recur to the first Accounts the *Portuguese* gave of the great number of *Jews* they found in the *Indies*. The *Jews* of *Constantinople* there printed a *Spanish* Translation of a pretended Letter from *Prefter John*, in *Hebrew* Characters, and dispersed it about every where in different Languages. But the *Jews* did not long enjoy their Dream; for the *Portuguese*, going into the Country, found that as much as the *Ethiopians* were wedded to certain *Judaical* Practices, in which some Writers have in vain endeavoured to justify them, they were nevertheless *Christians*.

But, to drop this delusory Prerogative, it is certain the *Jews* have for many Ages swarmed all the *East* over; *Persia* is full of them, and they had a Synagogue at *Modain*, the ancient *Seleucia* of the *Parthians*, out of whose Ruins *Bagdad* was partly built; and when the *Jews* removed to this new City, they became very powerful, and obtained of the Kalifs such Privileges as differed but little from those the *Christians* were allowed. And particularly they attained to the Honour of having a Chief, the same the *Arabs* call *Ras al Jalut*, so much talked of by *Benjamin* and *Abraham Zacut*, the Author of the *Jukbassin*. Some learned Men of our
own

own Times have doubted of what the *Jews* relate of the Ceremony of Installing this their Magistrate, but it is very true; and ought not to be reckoned a slight ensign of Sovereignty. We read in the History of the *Eastern* Christians, that it was the usual Custom for the *Mohammedan* Princes to leave them the free Choice of their Patriarchs; but the Person elected could not be invested with this Dignity, till approved by the Sovereign. There were even Canons which made it unlawful for Bishops to inaugurate or inthroned a Patriarch till his Election had been confirmed in public Form, which these Christians wisely ordained to obviate such Inconveniences as have frequently taken Birth from the Ambition and Jealousy of some private Men. Wherefore, before they Consecrated or installed a new Patriarch, they, besides the *Conge d'Elire*, usually brought him into the *Soltan's* Presence, or to the Governor of the Country; and when the Election was confirmed, the new Patriarch was in great State conducted to the Church, or the Patriarchal Palace.

We find many Instances of this in the History of *Egypt*, and in that of the *Catholics* or *Nestorian* Patriarchs; while nothing of the like is recorded of the *Jewish* Chief. But as they were very rich, and oftentimes very powerful at the Courts of these *Mohammedan* Princes, where every Thing gave way to Gold, it is very likely they obtained much the same Honours

conferred on the *Christians*. Accordingly if we examin the Recital of *Abraham* of *Salamanca*, and some other *Jews*; as *Benjamin* and others since him, it will be perceived these Cases were almost the same. It is impossible to suppose their Writings are fabulous; they do not prove That the *Princes of the Exiles* held any Sovereignty over their own Nation, nay, their best Authors ingenuously confess there was no such Thing, if we except private Regulations and Orders among themselves. So that they were not much better than Chiefs of Synagogues, or of the *Sanbedrim* of latter Times, and considerably inferior in Authority to the Patriarchs, when it hapned that the Prince confirmed the Election.

The main Difference between the Christian Patriarchs and the *Jewish* Chiefs, was, The former were invested with a Power over all the Churches within the Limits of their See, and such a one the latter seem not to have enjoyed. For what *Abraham* of *Salamanca*, and *Benjamin* say, That at *Bagdad* he was ushered in by the Title of *Son of David*, when he made his Entry, so proclaimed by the exulting Voices of the Croud; is in the first Place not much to be relyed on from such Hands, and, in the next, is but a feeble Proof of any Sovereign Power resident in the House of *David*. And besides that the *Jews* themselves confess There is a very great Confusion in their Genealogies, there
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is hardly a County where there have not been Families who boasted of a Descent by that Line. The famous *Isaac Abarbinel* was of this Number, who has been so kind as to let us know that a Branch of the House of *David* migrated into *Portugal*, and that it was his own; this reflected an Honour on them from the *Jews*, but void of all good Authority.

It were needless then to recur to their Fables, now a-days sufficiently known, to inquire after their Origin in the East and at length in *China*. It is very likely some remains of the Ten Tribes existed in the *Upper Asia*. *Isaac Abarbinel* cites Letters from *Jews* in the *Indies* who laid claim to that Descent: But as they had Communication with the rest, they most certainly conformed with them; so that tho' we had any particular Tradition, or Account of a Custom, handed down to us by the former, this Medley would only puzzle us the more; and in Fact we find that almost all the Eastern *Jews*, mentioned in Histories, agreed with the rest in their Observance of the Law, and in the Reading of the sacred Books, excepting certain Things we shall mention in the Sequel.

We are assured by all Authors, that are come to our Knowledge, both *Christian* and *Mohammedan*; and by all Travellers, both ancient and modern, that the *Jews* have been found in *Persia*, in *Che-*
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An Inquiry concerning the Jews.

rassan, in the *Mawaralnabrah*, and in the Provinces farthest remote and nearest bordering upon *China*, as well as in *Afric*, not to speak of *Egypt*, where they have been always very numerous. *Antony Tenreiro*, a *Portuguese* Gentleman, the first that travelled from the *Indies* to Europe by Land, whose Book was printed at *Coimbra* in the Year MDLX, found of them at *Lar*, and other Cities of *Persia* in his way. *Abulfeda* often observes there were Multitudes of them in the *Indies*, especially at *Calayata* and *Cingala*; as also at *Coulam*, according to *Marco Polo*. *Nuveiri* speaks of them at *Modain* as being so powerful that in the Year of the *Hejra* DLXXIII, of *Jesus Christ* MCLXXVII they had a warm contest with the *Mohammedans*. At *Cochin* there was a Jewry, where, according to *Diego de Couto*, they spoke the ancient Tongue: There were also great numbers of them all over *Malabar*, where they quite peopled some Places.

It is certain also that for many Ages past they have been very numerous in *Persia*, and all the Provinces which formerly depended thereon, or that at present belong thereto; and in all the Parts where the *Persian* Language is spoken, as it is in almost all the Dominions of the *Mogul*. This is confirmed by the Versions of the Scripture the *Jews* have made into that Tongue, of which the Pentateuch only was printed, in *Hebrew* Characters,
at

at *Constantinople* in the Year MDLI. But there are almost all the Books of the Bible of this Version in Libraries, and particularly in *Monf. Colbert's*. The printed Version is by the *Jews* themselves supposed to be the work of one Rabbi *Jacob*, a native of *Tus*, a famous City in *Chorassan*. We have another to the full as good; and this as well as those of the other sacred Books is in *Hebrew* Characters, a Verse of the original preceding a Verse of the Version, just like the *Chaldee* Paraphrases in Manuscript. The Version of the Psalms, which *John Baptist Vecchietti*, a *Florentin* Gentleman, got copied at *Ormuz* in the Year MDCI, and which I have among my Books in *Persian* Characters, is from three very ancient Copies, in *Hebrew* Letters, whose various Readings are between the Lines of the Text. This is what *Vecchietti* has taken care to observe at the end of the Book, adding That this Version is the more to be esteemed as it has some old Words used by *Fardussi*, *Azraki* and other Poets, which being now obsolete prove its Antiquity.

And what still farther corroborates this; In these Copies, in *Hebrew* Characters, you have none of the Corrections and Variations the *Masorets* have introduced into the *Hebrew* Text, now in the Hands of the *Jews*, and much fewer of those various Readings called *Kari* or *Katib*, as I have particularly remarked in the

Sapiential Books which I have in Manuscript, as well as in *Esther*.

Again, the same *Persian Jews* have Books in their Tongue which the others reject, as the Prophecy of *Baruch*, the History of *Tobit*, and the Additions to *Daniel*, which are not in the *Hebrew*. Many Conjectures might be raised upon this Foundation, but nothing certain can be thence deduced, no more than from what little we are told by the ancient Authors above cited. For the Antiquity of these *Persian* Translations tho' very great, is not sufficient to determin whether or no they precede the Revision of the sacred Books by the *Masorets*; and, indeed, that they did not precede them appears plain by the Version of the *Psalms*, which tho' in some Passages it varies from the *Masorets*, there are important Passages where it follows them: The first is in the 21 *Psalms* the 22 according to the *Jews*, and the 18th Verse, where the *Jews* instead of Reading *לֵאָוֹדֶרֶן* *foderunt*, as do the Septuagint and Vulgate, read *לֵאָוֹדֶרֶן* *sicut Leo*. The *Persian* reads the same. In the 144 or 145 *Psalms*, which is Abecedary, the 14 Verse is wanting in the *Hebrew*, tho' it stands in the Septuagint, the Vulgate and the *Syriac* Version which is very ancient, but is not in the *Persian*. As the *Syriac* is from the *Hebrew* Text, and as there is not the least Appearance that it was reformed by the *Greek*, it bids fair to have been once

once in the Original Text. For there is no Cause to be well assigned why in a Psalm, whose Verses are in Alphabetical Order, there should be one Verse wanting, and we not be able to guess at any Reason for it; and especially as nothing of the like is to be observed in others of the same kind. As old then as the Books in the Hands of the *Jews of Persia*, and the most remote Provinces of the *Upper Asia*, where the *Persian* Tongue was spoken, may have been, they cannot have been so old as the Transmigration of the ten Tribes, nor even as the last Dispersion, when *Jerusalem* was destroyed, seeing their Books conform in such Essential Points, as these we have noted, with those revised by the *Masorets*.

It is most likely then that the *Jews* got into *China* as into all other Parts, and that they may the more easily have done it, if true it be, as *Benjamin* says, That there were about fifty thousand of them at *Samarcand*, from whence they may have travelled into *China*.

A
DISSERTATION
 ON THE
CHINESE Learning.

*What the
 Arabian
 Author
 says of the
 Chinese
 Learning,*

*very con-
 tradictory
 to Vossius.*

WHAT our *Mokammedan* Traveller, in the first *Account*, tells us of the *Chinese*, That they have no Skill in the Sciences, must seem so extraordinary as to make us doubt every Thing else he says, after so many Elogies the Modern Travellers have lavished upon the Philosophers and Philosophy of *China*. We might at first imagin That illiterate Merchants could not perceive what has been since discovered, and that therefore we are not to mind them when they presume to go out of their Reach, but listen to the learned Men who know better. But it is not the Missionaries only that may be suspected of having talked a little too largely of the Wit and Learning of the *Chinese*, who have so done under a Notion of discovering such Truths in the Books of *Confucius*, as might dispose them to embrace the Christian Faith: For *Isaac Vossius*, a Man of great Erudition, has been more prodigal of his Commendations

dations than any Body else; * If any Man, says he, should collect all that every Nation which is or has been, has invented, tho' they have all brought forth very great Things, the whole together would not be more excellent and various than those exhibited by the Seres alone, by the Portuguese improperly called Chinese. This is the Opinion of a Man that was never in China; that was unacquainted both with their Tongue and their Books, but by Translations he could be no Judge of; and who, as some of his Friends say, was ready to believe every Thing, true or false, that could be told him concerning China and the Chinese. Now the Arabian Authors of these two Accounts had been in the Country it self, had probably some Knowledge of the Tongue, and consequently were better able to judge of the Chinese Learning than Vossius with his excessive and ill founded Prepossession. But let us see whether these Arabs knew enough of what Men call Learning, to qualify them to pronounce the Chinese Strangers thereto.

Our first Voyage was made in the CC XXXVIII Year of the Hejra, which corresponds with the Year of Christ DCCCLI

At the Time our Authors wrote, Philosophy was well cultivated among the Arabs.

* Si quis omnium qui sunt vel olim fuere gentium, praeclara simul conferat inventa, quantumvis ea multa & memoratu digna censeantur, tanta tamen & talia non erunt, quin longe inveniantur plura & meliora quae a solis reperta fuere Seribus, quos Lusitani perperam Sinas appellaverunt. Isa. Voss. de Magnit. Sin. Urb. cap. 14.

and

Elmac. p.
139. Ebn
Shalik
Leb. Ta-
rich, &c.

The Chi-
nese Phi-
losophy
what.

Their Me-
taphysics.

and DCCCLII. Before that time of Day the *Arabs* had entered upon the Study of Philosophy, Astronomy, Geometry, Physic, and Natural History by the help of the *Greek* Books translated into *Arabic* in the Reign of the Kalif *Almamun*, the Seventh of the *Abbassids*, who dyed in the Year of the *Hejra* CCXVIII, of *Christ* DCCCXXXIII, having reigned Twenty Years and some Months; and there were some old Translations before his Time. The Sciences contained in these Books are those our *Arabs* mean, and when they assert them unknown to the *Chinese*, they advance no more than succeeding Ages have confirmed, as it were no difficult Matter to prove.

Philosophy, as defined by the greatest Names of Antiquity, Is the Study and Knowledge of Things Divine and Human, their Causes and Effects. We were formerly told Wonders of the *Chinese* Philosophy, contained in the Works of *Confucius* and *Mencius*; but the Translations we have of them, put it into our Power to judge for ourselves.

To begin with their Metaphysics, What can a People know of this kind, who have no Idea of the *Sovereign Being*, or any Name for him in their Tongue. Before the Disputes which so long perplexed the Court of *Rome*, nothing was more universally granted; Father *Martini* himself saying, It is a wonderful Thing the *Chinese* should never talk of the Prime and Supreme Author of all Things; for in their Tongue, rich

as

as it is, there is no Name for God. Indeed they often use the Word Xangti to denote the great Ruler of Heaven and Earth.* Again, we have a demonstrative Proof of this in the *Chinese* and *Syriac* Inscription discovered in the Year MDCXXV, and printed in the *China Illustrata*: For the *Syrians*, who erected it as a lasting Monument of their Mission, having been then one hundred and forty-six Years in the Country, could not be ignorant of the Tongue, and could they have found any Word in *Chinese* to express the *Sovereign Entity*, they would certainly have used it rather than their own *Alobo*. They did then as the *Spaniards* have since done in *America*, who were obliged to use the Word *Dios* when they instructed the *Indians*, who had no Idea of the *Supreme Being*, or Name to call him by. And all that has been since produced in the Progress of this long Contest, to make us believe there are some Words in the *Chinese* Books that may signify God, has been so solidly confuted, that it is not worth our Notice. All the figurative Expressions borrowed from the Heavens and the Sun, which some would have to be pregnant of a Mysterious Sense, and applicable to God, proves nothing in

* De summo ac primo rerum authore mirum apud omnes silentium Quippe, in tam copiosa lingua, ne nomen quidem Deus habet. Sæpe tamen utuntur voce Xangti, qua summum Cæli Terraque gubernatorem indignant. Martin. Hist. Sin. l. 1.

favor of the *Chinese*; for the same are common to the *Americans*, even to the most barbarous *Iroquois*, who certainly had no Notion of God. We might hearken to a well meaning Missionary, who, having never studied the Ancients, should be caught by such Ambiguities, and fancy the Ancients had never once thought of any Thing of the kind; but it is hard to conceive how a Man of such vast Reading as *Vossius*, should take it into his Head That the *Pythagoricians*, the *Platonicians*, *Aristotle*, and almost all the other Greek Philosophers, the *Epicureans* excepted, have not spoke of God more intelligibly and conformably to Truth than *Confucius* and all the *Chinese* together.

What they
think of the
Origin of
the World.

As for the Origin of the World, Father *Martini* tells us they had various Opinions about it, all absurd, false, and common to other Nations; some believing it Eternal, others thinking it the fortuitous Work of Chance. Now can it be justly said That the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, informed only by the glimmering Light of Reason, did not treat more sagely upon this Subject? But it is observable that *Vossius* does not exclude the sacred Writers, not *Moses* himself, who in a few Words has taught us more Truths concerning the Origin of the World than all the Philosophers that ever wrote. We may judge what a Sort of Philosophy that must be, which is destitute of all Idea of a *Supreme Being*, and which knows no more of the
Creation

CHINESE Learning.

Creation of the World than is borrowed from the wild Extravagancies of Poets, and borders upon the Atomic System of *Democritus* and *Epicurus*.

The two Principles which Father *Martini* calls *Yn* and *Yang*, the one, as he continues, *Hidden and Imperfect*, the other, *Manifest and Perfect*, are the same the *Manichees* admitted, the one *Good* the other *Evil*; for this Doctrin has of old Time prevailed in the *Indies*, and over the *East*, whether it sprung immediately from *Manes* himself, or whether it is of *Indian* Growth, and transplanted into *China* as some *Persian* Historians relate.

Their two Principles, Hist Sinic. p. 14.

The Story of the Egg, whence *Puoncu*, *Fable of their first Man*, and all Things else were formed, was, as some take it, nothing unknown to the old *Greeks* and *Egyptians*; but if it was originally of *Chinese* Extraction, it would not be much for the Honour of their Philosophers: For the very same Thought came into the Head of the *Iroquois*, who, as some Persons of great Sincerity report, believed That in former Times an Egg fell down from Heaven, near the *Huron* Lake, that falling it broke to Pieces, and that of the White were produced Men, and of the Yolk Castors. Their other Notions about the Birth of the World, according to several Authors, which the Moderns have endeavoured to embellish by allegorical Explications, are by no Means original, being known to the *Greeks* and *Egyptians*: But nor the one nor the

Spizel. de Re Literaria Sinarum. § 10.

the other of these Nations had them from the *Chinese*, with whom they never had any Intercourse ; for not one of Philosophers who travelled to the remotest Parts of the Earth to seek Instruction, ever went to *China*; whereas many of them went to *Egypt*, to *Chaldea*, to *Persia*, and to the *Indies*, to consult the Sages of those Parts. It is very likely then that most of these Opinions which are ascribed to the old *Chinese* Philosophers, came to them from the *Indies* and *Persia*, as they had Commerce with those Countries; and that the superstitious Worship, so general in *China*, at least among the *Bonzes* and common People, they had from the *Indies*, as even those confess who speak of them in the most advantageous Strain.

Their Combination Tables.

Their Table of the Combination of Lines, to the Number of Sixty-four, is a pretty useless Obscurity, whence you may deduce just what Sense you please; but besides that it teaches nothing, it were easy to perceive it is a confused Copy of some Fragments of the *Timæus*, and other Writings of the *Pythagoricians*: This is what Father *Martini* frankly confesses, when he speaks of the Book they call *Yexing*, “* which is, says he, wholly taken

* *Habent Sinæ librum Yexing dictum qui totus in illis figuris explicandis est, magni apud eos pretii ob res arcanas, quas in illis latere sibi persuadent. Mihi quadam Philosophia Mystica videtur esse, Pythagoricaq; persimilis; etsi multis seculis prior; quippe qua initium habuit à Fohio. Martin. Hist. in p. 16.*

“ up in explaining these Figures. They
 “ value it at a high Rate imagining it re-
 “ plete of many wonderful Secrets: But
 “ to me it seems, *continues he*, a sort of
 “ *Mystic Philosophy* somewhat like that of
 “ the *Pythagorics*, tho’ many Ages the
 “ more ancient of the two, it being as
 “ old as *Fobi*.

This Antiquity being vouched by the
Chinese only, is not much to be relyed on ;
 but tho’ it were as far backward as these
 Moderns would have it, we must grant
 it can add no Sanction to so trivo-
 lous a System as this. But when we
 are afterwards told That the *Chinese* Phi-
 losophers pretend thence to derive not
 only the Principles of natural Philoso-
 phy, but the Rules also of Morality;
 it is almost impossible to think those
 who give out such Dreams, are in earnest
 with us. And what we elsewhere learn
 concerning the several Notions of the
Chinese in the Philosophic way, is not a
 whit better, nor can we entertain any very
 great or very favorable Opinion of a Peo-
 ple who talk of five such Elements as
 Metal, Wood, Water, Earth, and Fire.

It is Plain that the very best of the *Chi-
 nese* Metaphysics and Physics is by no
 Means comparable to what was taught
 by the ancient Philosophers, both *Greek*
 and *Barbarian* : That even their Fables
 cannot be said to be all their own, they be-
 ing to be found in other Hands and that
 this

this wonderful way of Teaching they had from the *Indians* and *Persians*.

*Metemp-
sychosis
Mar. Hist.
Trigaut.
Spizel.*

This is self-evident from their Doctrin of a Metempsychosis which was very universal, as it still is with the *Chinese*. They have no rational Idea of the Immortality of the Soul, and a great Part of their funeral Ceremonies evince they have no System of Tenets upon so important an Article, the very Basis of all Religion.

Genii.

The Guardian Angels they revere so superstitiously, are no other than *Genii*, Good and Evil, concerning which there are numberless Stories in the *Persian* and *Arabian* Writings. Fath. *Martini* says the *Chinese* call them *Tchin*, the very Name the *Arabs* give them; the *Genii* of the *Latins*, and the *Dæmons* or Spirits of several Classes or Orders, of whom *Jamblicus* *Porphyry*, *Plotinus*, *Eunapius* and others have written such and so many childish Things, as are a Scandal, to Philosophy, and quite foreign to true Religion.

*The Chi-
nese aston-
ished at
our Schola-
stic Abridg-
ments.*

In short these great *Chinese* Philosophers were such Novices in Philosophy that they admired the Abridgments of the Schools, and among the rest That of the Professors of *Coimbra* which the Missionaries translated for them; but they were no ordinary Men that admired these Works, they were *Literati*, who, versed in the Books of *Mencius* and *Confucius*, acknowledged their Philosophy very imperfect

fect in comparison of that. What must they then have said if they had been informed of the great Truths to be found in the Writings of the old *Pythagoricians*, of *Plato*, and even of *Aristotle*, more happily and Usefully express than the small Number the *Chinese* have, which are not to be understood but by Paraphrases as obscure as the Text it self, and which it is oftentimes difficult to reconcile together. Father *Intorcetta*, *Martini*, *Rougemont*, *Couplet*, and others have given us Translations of some of *Confucius's* Tracts, and their Classics, in which you must eternally help the Letter, and great Differences there are between these Fathers and what is cited by *Navarette* and other Missionaries.

Vossius does not much insist on their Philosophic Discoveries, but for Physic he cries them up to the Skies, and particularly for their Observations on the Pulse: he would have it that *Galen*, who treated the Subject very amply, was quite short of them: "The *Chinese*, says he, "not only feel the Pulse in one Part, "but in several, and that, for a considerable Time; which done, they are so "sure of the Disease that they tell all "the precedent Symptoms to a nicety." Fath. *Grueber* was a Witness to this, and told as much to the Sieurs *Lorenzo*, *Magalotti* and *Carlo Dati*; but added, that the Medicines prescribed to him thereupon, were so improper for his Disease that he

o

soon

soon lost all esteem for the *Chinese* Practice. This Treatise on the Manner of Feeling the Pulse is turned into *Latin*; and *Vossius* Reading it, broke out into his Praises of this his favorite People: But very able Physicians have considered this Work and made no great Account of it, nor thought the Observations of any great Use. But were they as useful as is supposed, it must be granted That a Knowledge of the Pulse is but a middling Part of Medicine; and hitherto the *Chinese* have afforded us nothing to make us fancy they are as well acquainted with the Principles of this Art as *Hippocrates*, or that they have better explained them than *Galen*, and the other *Greek* and *Arabian* Physicians.

The *Chinese* pretended to be skilled in *Simples*.

They say the *Chinese* perform wonderful Cures with *Simples*; and so they may, tho' *Grueber* and the rest do not say much in behalf of their way of treating the Sick. But in this they do no more than the most barbarous Savages of *America*, who perform astonishing Cures as well in the Case of Wounds as of Diseases. Nor do we understand That the *Chinese* have been guilty of any great Improvements in Botany, and still less in Chymistry; but tho' their Books were richer this way than we imagin, we should, before we reason as *Vossius* does, inquire if these Books are old, or whether they may not have been touched up by the Mis-

Missionaries as well as their Astronomical Pieces, which is now time to speak of.

It is upon this Subject that our Moderns have expatiated the most, pretending That the *Chinese* Astronomical Tables, their Cycle of sixty Years, and the Celestial Observations in their History, are a standing Proof that they have surpassed all other Nations in Astronomy. This Notion gained considerable Ground, when Fath. Couplet brought Home these Astronomical Tables, which had never before been seen in Europe.

They were first examined by *Cassini* and *Picard*, who finding them to agree to a Minute, with the Tables of *Tycho Brahe*, began to mistrust them a little; and speaking of the Thing to Fath. Couplet, who was a very sincere Man, he ingenuously told them That the *Tychonic* Tables being by all Astronomers allowed to be the most exact, his Brethren had reformed the *Chinese* Tables by them; which I have since heard him say my self.

In the Year MDCLXXXVII the same Father printed his Abridgment of the *Chinese* Chronology, together with the Cycles and some Astronomical Observations, particularly that of the Conjunction of the five Planets in the Constellation the *Chinese* call *Xe*: But *Cassini* undertaking to Calculate this Phænomenon, discovered an Error in it of five hundred Years; and the like in the Observation of a Winter

Their Chronology by Cycles of sixty Years.

ter Solstice, made, according to *Martini*, MMCCCXLII Years before the the Birth of Christ. This is to be seen at the end of *De la Loubiere's* Account of *Siam*, printed in MDCXCI, where also you have *Cassini's* Opinion of the *Chinese* Tables. " This Agreement between the *Chinese* " and *Tychonic* Tables, almost to a Minute, makes us believe they were calculated by the *Jesuits* who have for " a Century past resorted to *China*, and " not by the *Chinese*. For if they were " not indebted to the *Tychonic* Tables, " how is it they so exactly tally with " each other? Our Astronomers of this " present Age, cannot well agree to a " Minute in the Places of the fixed Stars, " and we all know that between *Tycho's* " Catalogue and the *Landgrave of Hesse's*, " undertaken at the same Time by excellent Astronomers, there is a difference " of several Minutes. It is not likely " therefore That the *Chinese* Observations " should almost always agree with those " of *Tycho* to the same Minute. The Judgment of this great Man may teach us what to think of these Astronomical Tables which have tempted some People to prefer the *Chinese* to all the Ancients and Moderns.

The Ignorance of the Chinese in settling their Calendar.

To this Decision of one of the greatest Astronomers of this Age we may add a very natural way of arguing which every body may understand: *First*, The *Mandarin* Presidents of the Tribunal of Mathematics

thematics, whose Business it was to fix their Calendar, succeeded so ill therein, that notwithstanding all their Interest and Intrigues, they were obliged to transfer the Task to the Missionaries, who were odious to them, both as Strangers and Preachers of a new Religion. The *Chinese* were first set right by Fath. *Matth. Ricci*; but a few Years afterwards they were never the wiser; so that Fath. *Adam Schall* was again obliged to reform their Calculations, and in spite of them became President of the Mathematic Tribunal, and *Mandarin* of the first Order, as were afterwards the Fathers *Verbieft* and *Grimaldi*. It is farther to be observed That these Missionaries and their Successors, were not profest Mathematicians, or known for such in Europe; and yet they were able to discern and confound the Ignorance of these *Chinese* Astronomers on whom it was so incumbent to consult the Honour of their Nation, and keep themselves in Authority. The most rational of them were those, who, confessing their Ignorance, studied *Euclid's* Elements, *Clavius's* Sphere and some other Tracts, under the Direction of the Missionaries; and these they read with astonishment, which had never been the Case of those who had but the least smattering of the Mathematics.

We are now to discuss the Grand Point, and that is the Antiquity of the *Chinese* Astronomy, this is the most boasted by

*The Anti-
quity of the
Chinese
Astronomy
examined.*

those who undertake to raise the *Chinese* above all the Nations that are or have been : Now for the famous Cycle of sixty Years, in which *Martini* and *Couplet* have ranged the principal Facts of the *Chinese* History, and the Succession of their Emperors. Father *Martini* led the way, and *Couplet* trod in his Footsteps. We are at a certainty about this Cycle from a Tract ordered by *Ulug Beig*, a Tartar Prince, deeply versed in Astronomy, who employed very able Mathematicians to compile the Astronomic Tables we have in several Libraries. *John Greaves*, a learned *Englishman*, who was both a great Master of the Oriental Tongues and an excellent Mathematician, did in the Year MDCL print a Treatise, of this same Prince's, *Of the various Epochs and their Computations*. Therein the *Chinese* Epoch is called the *Cataian* or *Igurian*, which equally comprehends the *Chinese*, and the *Tartars* all over the vast Continent of the *Upper Asia* ; and *Goliut* in Conjunction with *Martini* have shewn That the *Cathayan* or *Catuian* Names therein, are *Chinese*. This same sexagenary Cycle is, by our late Informations, used in *Siam* and the adjacent Countries, who may have borrowed it from *China*.

Epoch Celebri. Joh. han. Gra. vii.

The Chronology according to their Cycles false.

The *Greeks* had several Periods of Years ; but as they do not seem to have been known to the *Arabs*, the *Persians*, or the *Tartars*, who would have communicated them to the *Chinese*, it were a pre-

presumption to deny them the Honour of having invented the Period before us ; but we have two very weighty Remarks to make upon this Head.

The *First* is That after the Rate *Martini* and *Couplet* have marshalled the *Chinese* Chronology by these Cycles of sixty Years, either the *Chinese* or they must have been egregiously out, there being, as has already been observed, two Parachronisms of above five hundred Years apiece discovered therein ; which makes us think it possible there may be more of them, if some skillful Man would but give himself the trouble of examining into all the Eclipses and Planetary Conjunctions they give us. But this done, there would be still another Obstacle in our way ; for after the ingenuous Confession of those who give us these Tables, That they rectified them by those of *Tycho*, we should be at a loss to know whether they are the Observations of the *Chinese*, or of that great Astronomer.

The *Second* Remark is by no Means of less Moment : They exhibit this Series of Cycles as a plain Evidence of the Accuracy of the *Chinese* Science, and a Demonstration of the Truth of their History. But for this to be true, we should have some certain Epoch to count from, such as that of *Alexander*, of *Isdejerd*, of *Dioclesian*, of the *Hejra*, and of *Jelaloddin Ma-*

*We cannot
fix the
Date of
these Cy-
cles.*

lec Shab; whereas they begin this Succession of Cycles from the Year MMDC XCVII before *Christ*. Now according to the *Hebrew* Copies and the *Vulgate*, there are but MMCCCXXIX Years between the Flood and the Birth of *Christ*; and to supply this Defect it is, that those who assert the Antiquity of the *Chinese* History, recur to the *Greek* of the *Septuagint*. They agree indeed that what is recorded in the *Chinese* Annals above *Fohi*, is fabulous, and no Soul doubts of it; so they dare not ascribe this Sexagenary Cycle to him, but bring it down to the Reign of *Hoamti*, who flourished the abovesaid Number of Years before *Christ*. But we shall not readily conceive how so very complex a Cycle as this should have been so soon discovered, or brought to Perfection as *Couplet* * advances; whereas *Martini* † tells us that Emperor himself invented it. This Disagreement between two Authors who had one and the same Drift, who wrought with the same Materials, and in Points of such Importance, makes us very much mistrust the History they so applaud. Turn this Fact which way you will, you must eternally be at a Stand.

The first and main Difficulty is how to reconcile it with Scripture, even with the

It is difficult to reconcile the Chinese Chronology with the Hebrew Text.

* *Usus opera Tanao Cyclum Sexagenarium perficit.*

† *Et ab hoc demum Imperatore tametsi bini illum antecesserunt, Sina Cyclum suum Sexaginta annis descriptum inchoant, quippe ab eo ipso inventum. Martin. Hist. p. 25.*

Septuagint

Septuagint itself; and this not only with Regard to Chronological Supputations, but in Things of greater Consequence; for if we admit the *Chinese* History, we must reject the Universality of the Deluge, not to say that it attributes many Inventions to the *Chinese* Emperors, which Scripture ascribes to others. This has been an Observation made by late Authors, and particularly by the *Protestants*, who adhere to the *Hebrew* Text, and therein agree with the *Catholics*, who acknowledge the Authority of no other than the *Vulgate*. Both the one and the other are most assuredly more ancient than the *Chinese* History as it stands with us; seeing they have none but printed Copies extant; and as old as the *Chinese* may boast their Invention of Printing, no Paper could last eleven or twelve Hundred Years. They have no Books so old, and when they have found an old Inscription they have not understood it, as is instanced by Father *Rougemont*.

We shall always be at a Loss then to comprehend how the *Chinese* should have regulated this intricate Cycle two Thousand six Hundred and Ninety-seven Years before *Christ*; and much less how they should have contrived to teach it to others at a Time when they were very imperfect in Arithmetic, invented, as says *Martini*, *Hist. Sin.* under the same *Hoanti*, by Means of a Contrivance he represents. But after all, as exact and circumstantial as this Cycle appears to be, it was so defective, that
five

These Cycles cannot be so old as pretended.

Hist. Sin.
p. 21.

five Hundred Years after *Hoanti*, the *Chinese* Astronomers could not foretel an Eclipse which hapned under the Emperor *Cheoukang*, who for that Reason put them to Death. It is to our Purpose, that their Histories differ about the Time of this Eclipse; a plain Indication of the Insufficiency of their Calculations. Many Examples of the same kind might be produced, and the like have been very frequent in latter Times; for what reflected so much Respect on the Missionary *Jesuits*, was their Accuracy in these Predictions, while the *Chinese* themselves were out.

The point
of Time
they are de-
duced from,
not the
same we
have been
formerly
told.

The second Remark we have to make upon this Cycle is, That those who brought it to *Europe* and made it the Standard of the *Chinese* Chronology, date it from the Reign of *Hoanti* MMDCXCVII Years before *Christ*, or twenty-eight Years afterwards, that is, MMDCLXX before *Christ*, when a great Mathematician called *Tanad*, rectified it. Now besides the Objections that have already been made to this early Epoch, so irreconcilable with Scripture, we have another; for Father *Martini* was the first that ever deduced these Sexagenary Periods from that Point of Time, which the *Chinese* themselves disown, and is merely of *European* Invention. For our first Travellers that went to *China* understood the *Chinese* to reckon after the Rate of eight Hundred and eighty Thousand sixty and three Years, from the Beginning of the World down to

Scalig. de
Emenda-
tione Tem-
porum.

to the Year of our *Æra* MDXCIV, and some of them made very great Additions to this enormous Number. And yet this is not to compare with what we read in *Ulag Beig*, who has treated more exactly of these *Chinese* Cycles, than any Body else whatsoever: He tells us that in the Year of the *Hęra* DCCCXLVII, of *Christ* MCCCC XLIV, the *Cataians* or *Chinese* computed Eighty-eight Millions, six Hundred thirty nine Thousand, eight Hundred and sixty Years from the Beginning of the World; which infinitely exceeds the immense Calculations of the old *Chaldees* and *Egyptians*, so justly rejected as fabulous by *Cicero* and other Authors, and which none have asserted but Libertins and the Author of the *Preadamitic System*.

*Epoch. Cę-
leb.*

Those who have favored us with Compendiums of the *Chinese* History, confess it fabulous till the Reign of *Hoamti*; but tell us that after his Days we are to deem it genuin, which they attempt to prove by a Series of these Cycles chiefly, according to which they compute the Years of the subsequent Emperors down to our own Times; but they cannot deny this Contrivance to be their own, not *Chinese*. Its Outset is fictitious, and no more to be relied on than what we read, in *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, of the Astronomical Observations the *Babylonians* boasted to have made for one Hundred and seventy Thousand Years. Now many of their Eclipses, as *Ptolomey* has them from *Callis-
thenes*

*Their Ta-
bles as they
now stand
with us, are
rather an
European
Work than
a Chinese.*

*And yet
they are
faulty.*

*Simp. in
l. 2. de Cal.
Comm. 46.*

thenes who informed himself on the Spot, are right; but the chief of those in the *Chinese* Tables, tho' reformed by *Tycho*, are false. This is the Opinion of Mr. *Cassini*, the greatest Astronomer of our Time, whose Words it may not be amiss to produce:

*Voyage de
Siam. T. 2.*

" The *Chinese* Year, says he, has often
" wanted Reformation to make it set out
" from the same Term or Point, with Re-
" spect to which our Modern Accounts
" vary about ten Degrees; Father *Martini*
" fixing it in the fifteenth Degree of
" *Aquarius*, and Father *Couplet* in the fifth
" of the same Sign, as if it had retrogra-
" ded ten Degrees since *Martini* wrote.
" It is certain that a great many of the
" Eclipses and other Conjunctions the
" *Chinese* give as observed, cannot have
" hapned at the Times they say, as their
" Calendar stands at present; this we have
" proved by the Calculation of a great
" many of them, and may be discovered
" by a bare Inspection into the Intervals
" between them. For many of these In-
" tervals are too long or too short to be
" compleated by Eclipses, which never
" happen but when the Sun is near one of
" the Nodes of the Moon, whither he
" could not have revolved at the Times
" expressed, if the *Chinese* Year had been
" the same formerly as at this Day". But

*Hist. Lin.
P. 33.*

Father *Martini* lays so great a Stress upon this first Observation that he breaks out into a kind of Oath, *Sancte assevero*, That he found it in the *Chinese* Books such as he gives

gives it; and so fully is he persuaded of the Thing, That he asks, What the *Europeans* have to say to it? Mr. *Cassini* has on the behalf of all *Europe* replied, That this first Observation is false, and so all the Consequences thence deduced must fall to the Ground.

After this we may judge if *Vossius* could justly include the Astronomy of this People when he presumed to say of them, That they alone had invented more Things useful in Life, in the Arts, and the Sciences than all the Nations of the World put together. For we can know their Observations but by the Tables we have; and since those who turned them into *Latin* reformed them by *Tycho*; since the Conjunctions and Eclipses they contain prove false; and since by the Help of these Tables, rectified as they are, they have, for a Hundred and fifty Years past, never been able to settle a Calendar, or foretel an Eclipse; we must pronounce them far inferior not only to the great Astronomers that have graced our Days, but to the very meanest, such as were most of those who put them into some certain Method.

And far less are they to be compared with or preferred to the *Greeks*, whose Astronomical Observations are just and right; wherein no such Thing as an Anachronism of five Hundred Years is to be picked out, or any imaginary Eclipses, those in *Ptolomy* having been proved by the industry of our own Astronomers. Nor can the

A Consequence thence deducible.

The Chinese Astronomers not to compare with the Greek or Arabian.

Chinese

Almag.
L 4

Petav. de
Doctrina
Temporum

Chinese be even compared with the *Arabs* or the *Persians*, who having imbibed the sound Principles of the Mathematics, in the *Greek* Writings, improved them so well, that when our Authors went to *China* they had able Geometricians and Astronomers, whose Tables and Observations served as a Rule to all *Europe* for many Ages together. For tho' there have at all Times been Men of some Skill in Astronomy, as were most of those who laid down Rules for the Church Calendar in the *West*, in *Asia*, and in *Egypt*; that was the sole Object of their Contemplations, they sought no further, nor had we any Astronomical Tables in *Europe*, before those which *Alfonso*, King of *Castile* and *Leon*, ordered to be drawn up in the Year MCCLXX: To do which he employed some learned *Jews*, as is observed by the Historians who speak of this Event: But they have not observed to us That these *Jews* were beholden to Tables which had a long Time before been prepared by *Arabian* Mathematicians, the most ancient of which were calculated at the Command of the Kalif *Almamun*, the seventh of the *Abbasids*, who got most of the *Greek* Books translated into *Arabic*.

The Ara-
bian and
Persian
Astrono-
mers.

This general Translation is on all Hands applauded, and from that very Time the *Persians* and the *Arabs* began to have very good Mathematicians. By their diligent Observations they rectified the Tables of *Almamun*, in whose Days three famous Astro-
nomers,

nomers, called *the Children of Musa*, made that famous Observation on the Measure of Earth, which they first did in the Plains of *Sinjar*, in Scripture *Shinar*, and which they afterwards repeated at *Kufah*. A little while after this, they had very learned Astronomers, among the rest *Abuabdallah Muhamed*, the Son of *Faber*, who calculated Astronomical Tables very exactly, as did many others down to *Jelaloddin Malec Shab*, the third Sultan of the *Seljukid* Race, who had new Observations made to regulate the Epoch called *Malekean* or *Jelalean*. The *Jews* of *Spain*, who generally understood *Arabic*, it being common in the Country, while the *Moors* were Masters of *Corduba*, *Granada*, and many other considerable Cities; had translated the Astronomical Books and Tables of the *Arabian* Mathematicians into *Hebrew*, as well as most of those that treated of the Sciences in general, which gained them great Credit and Reputation. After this there was a great Number of very learned Astronomers among the *Mohammedans*, and *Ulug Beig*, a *Tartar* Prince, having caused very nice Observations to be made at *Sarmarkand*, ordered the Tables called *Ilakanian* to be formed, which have been admired even by the Astronomers of our Age. They did not, like the *Chinese*, mistake in their Calculations, they never obtruded false Eclipses, they never were at loss to fix the Beginning of their Years, tho', as they reckoned by Lunar Months, it is more

Ebn Kalkan.

Grav. Epoch Celeb.
p. 38. Prefat. in Tab. Geograph. Ulug. Beig. Hyde. Prefat. in Tab. Stel. Fix.

more difficult to compute them than the *Chinese* Cycles; and by what *Ulug Beig* says of the Matter, he seems to have known the Mystery of these same Cycles better than the Mathematic *Mandarins* themselves. We must not wonder then that *Mohammedan* Travellers from *Bagdad*, the Abode of the Kalifs, who were sensible how well these Sciences were cultivated in their own Country, should, upon observing nothing like it in *China*, pronounce the *Chinese* ignorant of the same.

The Arabs
were great
Mathema-
ticians.

We might here exhibit a long List of *Arabian* and *Persian* Mathematicians from *Ahnamun* down to later Times; and their Works being extant and in our Hands, we find them to have been perfectly acquainted with all the Branches of the Mathematics. They had translated *Euclid* from the Beginning, and their Comments upon him convince us they understood him thoroughly; so they translated *Archimedes*, *Theodosius*, *Apollonius Pergæus*, and almost all the other most difficult Authors; and by their Demonstrations it appears, and by their Schemes That they were fully possessed of them, and that they made very intricate Calculations to the greatest truth. We must confess then that in this Respect they were far beyond the *Chinese* who have had such Wonders told of them, Wonders not confirmed by a long Series of Time, or by Persons not to be mistrusted, but by a Handful of prejudiced *Europeans*, Translators, and Reformers, as they themselves

selves confess, of Books they could not understand. If the *Chinese* had been but middling Geometricians, *Euclid's Elements* had not been so novel to them; if they had been grounded in the Principles of Arithmetic, they had long ago thrown away the Frame or Mechanical Contrivance they still use; by whose Assistance it is hard to conceive how they should have calculated their Cycles with as much Exactness as the *Persians* did, who actually knew them, or as *Greaves* has done it for us in his *Epochæ Celebris*.

Now if we take in Hand the Arts that depend on the Mathematics, we shall at the first Glance perceive the *Chinese* are not only far inferior therein to the *Greeks*, and the *Moderns*; but also that they are quite ignorant in Optics, Proportions, Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and in general every Thing that tends to the Improvement of the fine Arts. We cannot apprehend that any Body will compare the *Chinese* Buildings, not even their Triumphal Arches, no nor the Porcelane Tower, with the noble Remains in *Greece* and *Italy*. If you will go still farther back, there is *Schisminar*, which many take to be the old *Persepolis*: The Ruins of this far exceed any Thing to be seen in all *China*. But if it is thought too much that we compare the *Chinese* Architects with the *Greeks*, the *Romans*, and the ancient *Persians*, compare them with the *Americans*, and they will still be inferior: For what Authors of undoubt-

The Chinese unacquainted with the Arts that depend on the Mathematics.

There-
not's Col.
Vol. IV.

ed Credit report of the Edifices erected by the *Mexicans*, and *Inca's* of *Peru*, may convince us they far outdid the *Chinese* in Contrivance, it being very extraordinary they should have completed such vast Works as they did, without the Use of Iron. As these never had so great an Opinion of themselves as the *Chinese* have had, and were never shy of learning what they knew not, they in a very short Time attained to a Perfection in the Arts, as may be read at large in *Palafox*. This we cannot say of the *Chinese*, who in a Hundred and fifty Years Time, have not learned to make a Dial, or draw a Figure. But we shall resume their Arts hereafter; we are now going to touch on one of the principal Parts of their Philosophy, which is Morality.

The Chi-
nese Mo-
rality.

This is one of the Articles late Authors are prolix upon, particularly extolling the great moral Truths which so shine in the Works of *Confucius*, the most famous of all the *Chinese* Philosophers, honoured by the *Literati* as a Saint, and whom many compare with, nay prefer to the greatest Genius's of Antiquity. For a long Time we knew nothing of this Treasure but by loose Sentences, in *Martini* and others, till the Year MDCLXXXIII, when *Couplet* gave us a Translation of the Works of this Philosopher, or rather a Paraphrase upon it, without which it had been impossible to make Sense thereof. When we attentively consider these Works, we find it a difficult Matter to give a more natural Account of

of this Philosophy than *Lorenzo Magalotti*, and *Carlo Dati*, Florentins, very ingenious and learned Men did upon the Conference they had about *China* with the *Jesuits* *Græber* and *Orville*, who were just returned from thence, *E una specie di Filosofia morale, alterata però con certi ingredienti di Teologia Scolastica*. They contain Truths as common to all Nations as to *China*; and when explained more amply by Interpreters and Commentators, they generally tend to trifling Ceremonies, and frivolous Superstitions. This it were easy to demonstrate, if we had leave to examin the chief of them, even the most marvellous; but as this would require a Volume by itself, let it suffice that we attempt a few important Observations upon this Chapter.

No Body can deny but that all the great Truths in *Confucius*, are more happily expressed, and more plainly taught in the Scripture: His Friends to be sure would never allow him to be beholden to the sacred Books, or that he thence exhausted his Lights, and indeed it seems he did not; for had he, in the least, known the Truths revealed to the Patriarchs and People of God, he had never contaminated those ascribed him, by such great Absurdities. And yet it is not impossible but some feeble Rays may have reached *China*, thro' other Nations; for the Antiquity of the Sacred Writings, is as certain as that of the *Chinese* is doubtful: But upon this Head we have wherewithal to suggest,

*Moral
Truths of
Confucius
what we
are to think
of them.*

That most of these Truths so ascribed to the *Chinese* and to *Confucius*, are not of their own Growth, and that they had them from abroad.

Most of
these
Truths are
in the old
Gnomics.

There is hardly any Truth in Morals but is to be found in the old *Gnomics*, in the *Golden Verses* of *Pythagoras*, in the *Sayings* of the *Seven Wise-Men*, and in the scattered Fragments of the *Pythagorics*. Now it is certain That the *Arabs* translated most of these old Collections of Sentences, and that the same were afterwards rendered into *Persian*; so it may have been That by this Means they made their Way into *China*; and that the excessive Vanity of the *Chinese* may have prompted them to call that their own, they had only borrowed. For it does not appear by any Author, Ancient or Modern, That the *Arabs* or *Persians* ever had any Thing from the *Chinese*, not even Fables: In their fabulous Pieces mixed with Morality, as *Kalila-ve Damna*, and others such, the grave Persons introduced to pronounce Sentences are *Bramins*. They have many Romances, in Prose and Verse, which relate *Alexander's* Travels to the *Spring of Life*, which, according to them, is in *China*, or somewhere in the circumjacent Provinces; and herein also they have Philosophers but they are *Bramins*, not *Chinese*. They have a Book in a more serious Strain, which they had from the *Greeks* of the Middle Age, and which they greatly esteem; it is a kind of Dialogue between *Alexander* and some

some Philosophers, each of whom delivers a Sentence, but they are still *Indians*. In short it is very possible that what the *Chinese* have in common with all civilized Nations, may have been derived to them from the *Arabs* and *Persians*; the Thing may have been, and that it was so, may appear by the Incoherence between these first and great Truths, supposed to be theirs, and the Consequences they thence deduce for the Conduct of Life. This is what we must consider at large.

“ The *Chinese*, says *Martini*, have studyed
 “ and still carefully study to perfect them-
 “ selves in the Knowledge of Heaven, of
 “ Man, and of the Earth. Hence they are
 “ very diffuse on the Nature of Spirits,
 “ Good and Evil, of the Principles of na-
 “ tural Things, their Production their
 “ Corruption, the Motion of the Stars,
 “ the Variety of the Seasons, and many o-
 “ ther Things.” If by their Study of
 Heaven we are to understand Astronomy, it
 has been sufficiently shewn They have sadly
 mispent their Time; But this is not the
 true Sense of the Words; nor by *Heaven*
 do they point at the true God, they being
 void of all Idea concerning him, and de-
 stitute of a Name to distinguish him. What
 they teach of the Nature of Good and
 Evil Spirits, is an inexhaustible Source of
 the most stupid Superstitions they observe
 at their Feasts, and in their Sacrifices to
Genii of the Mountains, Waters, Cities;
 as did formerly the ancient Heathens.

P. 148.
 In what
 their Mo-
 rality con-
 sists.

The Writers who have given us Extracts from their most famous Authors, have been very brief upon this Head, seemingly aware That if it was explained we should therein discover something like the Doctrin of the old *Manichees*, or those the *Arabs* call *Tan-zis*, because they admitted two equal Principles, the one Good the other Evil: But instead of this, some have thought them commendable for their Knowledge of, and Respect they pay to Guardian Angels.

“The Knowledge of Man, according to the same Author, comprehends Morality, Piety towards God, towards our Parents, towards all Men, and towards ourselves. If we believe *Martini*, the *Chinese* by this Piety, recommended in the Books of *Confucius*, understand “The Love of God, of our Relations, of our selves, and of all Men.” But how should the *Chinese* have prescribed Rules for the Love of God, and not at this Day have any Notion of him, no Name to signify this *Supreme Entity* we are bound to adore and to love as soon as we know him the Author of all Things, and of all Good. He endeavors indeed to make the Words *Thien* and *Xanti* expressive of our Idea of God; but this Point has been most minutely discussed in our Days, and given against *Martini*: And long before this Decision at *Rome*, *Nava-rette* and other Missionaries maintained That the *Chinese* did not accept these Words in *Martini*’s Sense, that they had no Idea of the true God, nor Name for him.

It

It follows then That *this Piety towards God* is not what *Martini* would have it, but what the *Chinese* practice. Now what they practice, are Sacrifices, in their Way, offered up to Heaven, to *Genii*, and their ancient Heroes; to *Confucius*, *Laoffu*, and to *Foe* or *Fohi*, one of their first Emperors, whose Story is quite Fabulous. And herein consists the primary and principal Part of the *Chinese* Piety, void of any Vestige of true Worship, the Sum and Substance of Religion: But besides the undoubted Proofs we have of this, in the most sincere Travellers, we have speaking Proofs thereof in the Pictures we see in their Books; for above all the rest you have the Picture of *Fohi*, and very far beneath you have those of *Confucius* and *Laoffu*. Now *Fohi*, according to the *Chinese*, was one of their old Emperors; according to the *Indians*, one of their Gods. The two others were their Saints, and great Philosophers; and before these Figures do the *Chinese* offer Flowers, Perfumes, living Creatures, and other Things; in this consists the Piety of the learned *Chinese*. If the Idolatry of the People be more simple and groveling, and if the Idolatry of these Grandees be more polite and refined; they are never the less equally Criminal, and equally Superstitious: In short, this first *Chinese* Precept is contained in the very foremost of the *Golden Verses*.

Piety towards our Parents, in paying them the Respect due to them from Children, as long as they live, is by no Means

Chin. II.
lust.

Piety to-
wards Pa-
rents.

a Truth of *Chinese* Discovery, it being ordained and observed by the most barbarous Nations. What is peculiar to them, are the Funeral Honours they pay to their Memory, which they have carried to the highest pitch of Superstition; tho' the Laws of God, and those of the wisest human Institution have set Bounds thereto; no idolatrous Nation has pushed the Thing so far as the *Chinese*. For the Ceremonies called *Inferiæ*, Libations, and other the like Superstitions were not of that Import as the asking of such Favors from their Dead, the *Chinese* are guilty of. These Practices equally superstitious and frivolous, have ever been condemned by wise Legislators and Philosophers; and if they are called an Act of Religion, such a Religion cannot but be false, and all the Opinions conducive thereto, must be false likewise. They would be somewhat excusable in those who should believe the Immortality of the Soul, as did the old *Pagans*; but in the *Chinese* who, as we are told by the best Authors, have Faith in no such Thing, tho' they at the same Time unaccountably fancy the Soul of *Confucius* and the *Manes* of their Ancestors repose themselves upon Tablets they place upon their Altars, they are intolerably senseless. The *Iroquois* who believe there is a Country of Souls, where their Fore-fathers hunt the Souls of Castors, are scarce more absurd in their Notions than these wonderful *Chinese* Sages. To be brief, nothing
can

can be more ridiculous than to suppose such mean Trash to be the Result of Philosophical Meditation, and, as it were, founded upon the original Principles of Wisdom.

The ancient *Greeks* and *Romans* were unhappily involved in the grossest Superstitions; but they were far from being approved by the Philosophers, tho' few of them ventured to attack them openly; they left the People to their Sacrifices, their Festivals, and all their religious Trumpery; the wisest Legislators gave Way to these popular Errors. But if they happened to ordain a Sacrifice or any religious Act, they did not derive it from Philosophic Reasoning; they had Recourse to Oracles, to Revelations, which the Philosophers always rejected, if we except the latter Times; when to maintain themselves in the Veneration of the People, and as much as possible to deter them from Christianity, they carryed the Error to its utmost Length. If then we are to say, as by all Accounts it seems we must, That *Confucius* and the other Sages of *China* taught the ridiculous Ceremonies in vogue with the *Chinese*, and considered the same as constituent Parts of Morality and Piety, it must be confessed They ill deserve the Name of Philosophers.

If it be asked what Order, what Geometrical Method there may be in the *Chinese* Philosophy? We shall be greatly at a Loss to find any. For *Martini* himself, who varnishes all they say and do, in the most

The Chinese Ceremonies but ill became Philosophers.

The Chinese Philosophy destitute of Method.

most beautiful Manner, having explained what they mean by Piety, proceeds to another Species of the same; "They acknowledge, *says he*, three Cardinal Virtues, Prudence, Piety, Fortitude or Magnanimity: That Prudence teaches the various Customs and Ceremonies; that Fortitude puts them in Practice; and that by Piety we are allyed and attached to the other Virtues." That is to say, a *Chinese* is prudent when he knows the Detail of their cumberfom Ceremonies; that he is magnanimous when he puts them in Practice; and that herein he displays his Piety.

*Their civil
Ceremonies
a part of
their Vir-
tue.*

We need only examin into the Nature of these Ceremonies, to be convinced That those who could imagin them in the least analogous with Virtue, had not the least Idea of Moral Virtues. The Chain of these Ceremonies is something so odd, that the like is not to be found in any of the Nations most civilized and most addicted to Form. They are so little of a piece with the Simplicity of the earlier Times, that we want no more to satisfy us They are not so ancient as the *Chinese* boast. The Manner of inviting to a Feast, of going thither, of receiving the Guests, of entertaining them; of going to a Funeral, of paying Visits, and of receiving them, which consist of an infinit Number of Circumstances, are the Science of a Gentleman-Usher, or some such Officer, not of a Philosopher.

But

But it may not be amiss to observe what the Chinese understand by the other Virtues, which lead to this Piety of Ceremonies and Forms : They are, say they, *Justice, Fidelity to Friends, and the Virtue by which we measure the Sense of others.* We must not wonder That those who had learnt no better after so long a Study, should admire the Philosophy of Coimbra : Or that our Arabs, who had, perhaps in their own Tongue, read the Morals of Aristotle, should speak so contemptuously of the Chinese Learning. It were time lost to expatiate on such absurd Distinctions ; nor can any Thing be more out of the way, than to make a Virtue of what they call *Measuring the Sense of others.* If these enigmatical Words are expressive of any Thing, they mean the Talent of diving into the Thoughts of others, of guessing at their good and evil Intentions, of getting at their Capacity, and of thence forming a prudential Judgment, according to which we are to behave. But this is not having the primary or simple Idea of Virtue, to apply it to such a Character ; for a cunning, inquisitive, mistrustful, artful, designing Man, is for the generality better able to *Measure the Sense of others*, than an honest, plain, upright, and sincere Person.

But after all, say the Admirers of Confucius and the Chinese Philosophers, it cannot be denied but in their Writings there are great Truths, among the rest this, *Quod tibi non vis fieri, alteri ne feceris* ; We grant it ;
but

Other Virtues according to the Chinese.

A few fine Sentences no Proof of their Capacity.

but we may, without any great Presumption, believe That this Maxim, and some others, came to them from abroad, in the manner above suggested. But it were straining the Point too much, not to suppose the *Chinese* may have known what Nature herself prompted to other Nations: Tho' the little Use they have made of it towards the Discovery of sublimer Matters, is a glaring Instance of the scantiness of their Genius, and a Proof of what our *Arabs* pronounce, when they report them unacquainted with the Sciences, and that all they know, they had from the *Indies*.

The Chinese besotted with Chemistry.

But if the *Chinese* have the finest System of Morality in the World, it does not appear That it has been of use to them in the Conduct of Life: The Cruelty of Fathers who sell or make away with their Children; the prodigious Number of Eunuchs, mutilated for the Use of the Court; the Pride and Cruelty of their Mandarins; their Dishonesty; the Fury wherewith they lay violent Hands on themselves; their Debauchery; their Luxury; and many other Enormities *Ricci* notes of them, are so many Proofs of their Deficiency in Morals. Add to this the Obstinacy wherewith some of their wealthy People seek after the *Philosopher's Stone*, and the *Grand Elixir*, which betokens a great Disturbance of Mind; which, as they say, has been upon them for above two thousand Years past: Tho', by the way, this their Attachment to Chemistry, makes their Antiquity look very

very doubtful. For notwithstanding the Fables the Chemists have forged among themselves, to prepossess us with a Fancy That their Art took Birth from the Patriarchs and Sages of the first Times, it was never heard of before the third Century of *Christ*. Most of the Learned have taken the Word Chemistry to be of *Greek* Etymology; but they are wrong, the Word being no where to be met with in ancient Authors, and being written with an H, whereas it should be spelt with a T to be *Greek*. It is on all Hands agreed that the first Books of this frivolous Art, that we know of, appeared first of all in *Egypt*, and that, as several relate, under the Empire of *Dioclesian*. *Κημι* is *Egypt* in the Language of the Country, where it is pronounced *Kimi*; whence the *Arabs*, who are as much infatuated with this Spell as any of the Orientals, have formed the Word *Chimia*. It is very likely then That by their Means it was the *Chinese* became acquainted therewith, there being, as shall be observed hereafter, no stress to be laid upon their Histories. The modern *Greeks* have many Treatises of this kind, which they set off with pompous Titles, to persuade us they are very Ancient: These the *Arabs* and the *Persians* have translated, and ascribed to *Hermes*, to *Pythagoras*, to *Aristotle*, and to other great Personages of Antiquity; but we have no *Arabian* Writer (and they are no very scrupulous Critics) that does the *Chinese*
the

the Honour of having been, in any degree, the Inventors, or Improvers of the Art they so much boast.

After Morality come Politics, as one of its most noble Parts. Now we cannot sufficiently admire That Men versed in Antiquity, as many were who have so extolled the *Chinese*, should so emphatically insist on the Sentences of *Confucius* and *Mencius*, which are so very trite, that the best of them are not comparable to those which in a manner fill the *Greek* and *Latin* Writings, not to speak of Scripture which contains more political Truths than the whole Class of Profane Authors. But if the *Chinese* Philosophers have uttered some fine Sayings, It does not appear they have contributed much to the forming of great Princes, or able Ministers; to the Rise of wholsom Laws, or to make the People happy. For many Ages it has been a saying, *The People would be happy if Kings were Philosophers*, or if Philosophers reigned; and we may safely say That if Philosophers ever reigned in any Country, *China* has been the Place. For the *Mandarins*, who are all Men of Letters, and consequently Philosophers, Disciples, and Followers of *Confucius*; have for many Ages past filled all the great Offices, both Civil and Military, have enjoyed all Governments, and presided in all Tribunals. And yet if we search into the History of this Empire, embellished as much as possible by fruitful Pens,
we

we shall not find These Sages have been of any great Use in the extraordinary Revolutions that have hapned in their Country, or that they have exhibited such Examples of Fidelity and Courage as abound in the History of every other Nation. This is particularly observable in the very last Revolution, when the *Tartars* made a Conquest of *China*, and placed the reigning Family on the Throne. In short, all the Defects which have been deemed the Ruin of the great Empires of the East, despotic Rule, the Luxury of the Prince shut up in a Palace with Women and Eunuchs, the Neglect of State Affairs, the Contempt of Military Arts; all these infect the Government of *China*. The *Tartars* without one jot of Philosophy over-ran this vast Empire almost as soon as they invaded it; but when they conformed to the *Chinese* Ways, they stood exposed to the same Misfortunes as their Predecessors.

In truth it is hard to conceive how any body should applaud a Morality and Policy so destitute of Principles, and so purely made up of common Sayings and Examples borrowed from History; so void of all scrutiny into the Actions of Men and their Passions, their Spring, Tendency, and End; it being certain The *Chinese* have no settled Doctrin on the Immortality of the Soul, and that they all agree the Good are rewarded and the Wicked punished in this Life, either in
their

*They have
no Principles of Morality.*

their own Persons, or their Posterity. We can no longer hearken to those who would make us believe, among other Obscurities, that by Heaven the *Chinese* intend the true God; for the Persons themselves who give us this favorable Interpretation, grant, with the same Breath, That they have no Idea of God. The same must we think of all their Superstitions in honour of *Genii*, which are nothing less than Guardian Angels: Nor is it less absurd to imagin *Confucius* to have been a Man inspired of God, and that he foresaw the Birth of *Christ*, because in his Days certain Hunters killed an uncommon Creature which looked somewhat like a Lamb. The Holy Patriarchs and the true Prophets foresaw and joyfully expected the Coming of *Christ*: *Your Father Abraham rejoiced to see my Day: and he saw it, and was glad:* And by the same Spirit was *Jacob* moved to say, *I have waited for thy Salvation, O LORD:* But *Confucius* no sooner heard this Creature was slain, than weeping bitterly he cryed out, His Doctrin drew towards an End; whence we may infer it to have been quite different from the Doctrin *Christ* was to preach. *Martini*, who has this Story and gives us the mystical Signification of this Creature, puts it into the Mouth of a *Chinese* Philosopher, a Profelyte to Christianity, prudently avoiding to vouch for it himself. But if he and others could think That such were the Means to lead the *Chinese* into the Way of Truth; others have

Martin.
P. 149.

have thought, and will upon better Foundation think, That this Condescension is rather adapted to confirm them in their old Errors. It were very strange that God, the Father and Inspirer of all Truth, and of the Way he is to be truly worshipped, should reveal himself in the Old and New Testament to plain illiterate Men without the Intervention of Philosophy, and that to this general Rule of Providence there should be an Exception for *China*. And it is still more unworthy of the Divine Majesty to suppose any Inspiration in Men who had no Knowledge of his Supremity, of the Soul, of the Origin of Things, and who for two thousand Years past have persisted in vain and frivolous Tenets. The *Mohammedans* with the bare Knowledge of an Almighty God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, the Author of all Good, the Judge of the Quick and the Dead, the Avenger of wicked, and the Rewarder of good Works, could not but express themselves of the *Chinese* with the Contempt observable in our two Voyages, a Contempt of ancient Date with the *Arabs*; for in History we read of a Saying which came from *Musa*, who conquered *Spain*, to the following Effect: *When Wisdom or Knowledge was sent down to Men, she was lodged in different Parts of the Body according to the Difference of Nations; She settled in the Head of the Greeks, in the Hands of the Chinese, and in the Tongue of the Arabs.*

Of the In-
ventions
said to be
theirs.

In the Dialogue between the Emperor of China and the Arab, in the second Account, we find that this Opinion concerning the Greeks had reached his Ears, and that he in some sort acquiesced therein. The Arabs have at all Times had great Notions of the Beauty of their own Tongue and Eloquence; but they yielded the Greeks the Honour of having surpassed them in Philosophy and the Sciences, tho' they would never allow the Chinese to have been any thing but ingenious Mechanics. Vossius and the Authors of later Times, have not been unmindful to extol them as such, and at the same time allow them to be the Inventors of many useful and curious Things, which is not so certain as to be beyond all Dispute. For it will never be readily granted That they found out the Compass, and the Art of Navigation. The Antiquity of Printing among them is asserted from the Testimony of their own Histories only, which are much to be doubted, as is also the Claim they lay to the Invention of Artillery and Gunpowder, the Construction of Celestial Spheres and Globes, together with other Items of a Mathematical Apparatus. The Arts have every where else been perfected by slow Degrees; and if their first Inventors be as old as is supposed, it were astonishing That if we except their Varnish and Porcelane, every thing else attributed to them should be in such a State of Imperfection. For the
Missi-

Mart.p.44

Missionaries inform us, they were obliged to get Mathematical Instruments made to observe with, because what the *Chinese* had of the Kind would not do. As much as they are pretended to have been skilled in casting of Cannon, Father *Adam Schall* and *Martini* were at the Head of all the Meltings in their Time; and notwithstanding what is commonly said That the severe Prohibition against Infringements on the ancient Usages, or receiving Instruction from Strangers, has prevented them from improving the Arts they invented; these Strangers have taught them an infinit number of Things, before unknown in the Country. We must then confine our Elogies on the *Chinese*, to what they have actually invented and cultivated, and not extend them to Inventions which are none of theirs; for it can only serve to confound History, make us doubt of the Authority of Holy Writ, and administer to the Pride of a Nation already so puffed up therewith.

The Invention of Letters has ever been esteemed the most marvellous and useful; insomuch that many of the Ancients would have derived it from Divine Inspiration, as seeming, in some degree, beyond the reach of human Comprehension. The *Hebrews*, and after them the *Greeks* and *Latins* expressed an infinit number of Words with twenty-two or thirty Figures: The *Chinese* on the Contrary have so multiplied their Figures, That they are computed at

The Chinese Characters.

upwards of sixty Thousand, and scarce can the Life of Man attain them all, even tho' they want the Sound of some of our Letters as R, and some others. Those who have impartially considered this Matter, have agreed it to be a very grievous Defect, and it is easily conceived: For one and the same Noun, and one and the same Verb, admitting a great variety of Moods, of Tenses, of Numbers, may always be distinguished with us, because the Characters never vary. But this Multiplicity of Characters is what *Vossius* would have us most admire, adding That hence their Tongue has suffered no Alteration for three or four thousand Years past, and that thus they must have retained all the Discoveries their ancient Sages had made in the Sciences and fine Arts, as well as the History of their Empire. These great and sounding Words strike us at first, especially when delivered with that Air of Authority *Vossius* assumed, when speaking of Things he knew the least of; but if we examin them nicely, we shall find that what they signify is quite false. For *first* he takes it for granted that the *Chinese* Characters have always been as they are at present; *secondly*, that they understand them as readily as a *Greek* would read an old Inscription, or a *Jew* the *Hebrew* Bible, which is a Mistake. He might have informed himself from *Martini*, That the ancient *Chinese* Characters differed widely from the Modern, and that they were not very unlike

like the *Egyptian* Characters upon the Obelisks at *Rome*. He adds, That he once saw a Book written in six several Sorts of these old Symbols, which the *Chinese* valued and admired for its Antiquity : But he does not say they understood them, and there is great Reason to believe they knew no more of them than of the Inscription mentioned by *Rougemont*, who frankly confesses That no Body could explain it. These Characters were strange to them, and consequently the Tongue had undergone a Revolution; which overthrows *Vossius's* Argument.

But when he takes the *Chinese* Books to be so very old, he advances a decisive Fact without affording us any one Proof of it. He himself could furnish us with none, for he was ignorant of the Language; nor could he pretend to say any Thing he had not from *Martini* and others. These have indeed affirmed the *Chinese* History to be very Ancient, and seem unwilling we should doubt it; but they have never said They had any Books so very Old; nay they even supply us with a considerable Argument against this boasted Antiquity, by telling us more than once That they have none but printed Books; and altho' they disagree about the Time when the Art of Printing was invented, no one has given it out to be as Old as the earliest Times of the Empire, but only some Ages before it was known in *Europe*. It is also on all Hands agreed, That the *Chinese* Paper,

q 3

which

Mart.
P. 239.

Idem. p.
334

which is very thin, and can bear printing upon one Side only, cannot last as long as ours, or as Parchment, which the *Chinese* use not. History relates That somewhat better than two hundred Years before *Christ*, the Emperor *Ching* caused all the Books to be burnt, and that *Confucius* and *Mencius* were preserved by an old Woman, who had pasted them against a Wall, whence they were afterwards taken; and moreover that some Passages were defaced by the Wet. These Books were written upon Bark, the common Paper being then uninvented: But we cannot perceive That those who for above six score Years past have been so minute in their Accounts of *China*, and have ran over all its Provinces under the Wing of Authority, have ever met with any of these Books written upon Bark, tho' such there are in several of our Libraries; or any Inscriptions upon Metal, or Stone of undoubted Authority, like the *Eugubin* Tables, the many *Etruscan* Inscriptions and *Punic* Medals, not to speak of Obelisks covered with long Inscriptions, by far more intelligible than the *Chinese* Characters; and yet they would persuade us these same Characters are much more perfect, because truly they have been always understood, tho' at the same Time it is confessed That no one understands the old Writing, and that scarce any Specimen of it is left; that those in present Use are liable to eternal Ambiguity, and
that

that it requires many Years to get only a Part of them.

If we examin the *Chinese* Writing and Language by the general Rules of Speech, and of expressing ourselves by Signs, it must appear there never was any more defective. For if we find fault with the *Hebrew*, the *Arabian* and *Persian*, these two the same, excepting some Letters, because they omit most of the Vowels, which are expressed another Way; this is nothing in Comparison of the *Chinese* Writing, which cannot be mastered but by a long and tedious Study of many Years. We shall never find that the *Greeks* and *Latins* were obliged to use the Pen to be understood in immediate Conversation together, as the *Chinese* are forced to do with their Pencil: This is what *Trigaut* expressly observes from *Ricci's* Memoirs: For having said that each Word has its Hieroglyphic, and that there are as many Letters as Words; that they are to the number of Seventy or Fourscore Thousand; and that the Person who understands ten Thousand has as many as are necessary to write, and that no Man in the Empire can know them all, he continues, * "The Sound of these Chara-

The Chinese way of Writing very defective.

* *Horum etiam characterum, ut plurimum, idem est sonus, figura non eadem, imo etiam significatio non una: unde fit ut aliud nullum idioma equivocum aque reperiat, neq; a loquentis ore scriptio ulla excipi potest, ab audientibus exscribenda; nec liber unus ab audientibus cum praelegitur intelligi, nisi librum eundem pra oculis habeant,*

" Eters is commonly the same, tho' they
 " vary in Figure, and the Signification be
 " different. Hence it is there is no Ton-
 " gue more subject to Equivoques, that
 " there is no writing what is dictated by
 " another, or understanding a Book ano-
 " ther reads, if the same Book does not
 " ly before you, to ascertain the ambigu-
 " ous Sounds the Ear cannot distinguish.
 " It sometimes happens, That you shall not
 " understand a Man tho' he speak with the
 " neatest Propriety and Elegance, so that
 " he shall be obliged not only to repeat
 " what he has said overagain, but even to
 " write it down.

The great
 Defect of
 this Ton-
 gue.

This Defect is so great and of so exten-
 sive a Nature, that it may be pronounced
 to include all the rest, and that the Wri-
 ting of no civilized Nation has ever been
 so imperfect and wanting. It is common-
 ly said That the *Chinese* Characters amount
 to Seventy or Fourscore Thousand; and, as
 has been already observed, *Vossius* will
 have this Multiplicity to be a Sign of the
 Copiousness of their Tongue, but it is quite
 the Reverse. For were we, for instance,
 to reckon up all the Words in the *Greek*
 Language, we should have above five hun-

*ut equivocos vocum sonos, quos aurium judicio minime di-
 stinguunt, oculorum fide figuras intuentium internoscant.
 Imo etiam inter loquendum non raro evenit, ut alter alte-
 rius conceptum, accurate alioqui proferentis & polite lo-
 quentis, minime assequatur, ipse non repetere solum cogi-
 tur, sed etiam scribere.*

dred

dred Thousand, and perhaps, a still greater number if we took in the Variations of the different Dialects, and if we thereto added the vulgar Tongue, as the *Chinese* reckon the ancient and modern together. If to this we accumulated all the Inflections of Nouns and Verbs, which have each a Character apart in the *Chinese* Writing, the Number would infinitely surpass that of the *Chinese* Characters. The same might be alledged of the *Latin*, and still more of the *Arabic*, the *Persian*, the *Armenian* and most of the Oriental Tongues.

Accordingly, as the *Chinese* have thought it beneath them to learn any Thing of Strangers, the few who were rational enough to submit to the Instruction of the Missionaries, have been obliged to use, or to form an infinite number of new Words, and consequently new Characters; or it is impossible to conceive how they should understand the Philosophy of *Coimbra*, the Epitome of *Clavius*, his Sphere, his *Guonics*, Military Architecture, the Manner of composing and touching the Harpsicord, and other Tracts enumerated by *Kircher*. This supposed, we must needs confess the *Chinese* Tongue to be very imperfect, as well in the Pronunciation, as in the Writing; and that the ancient *Hebrews* and *Phœnicians*, the *Greeks* and *Latins*, who were indebted to the former for their Knowledge and Use of Letters, did from the Beginning extend this admirable Invention to a Degree of Perfection the *Chinese* are

are far wide of to this very Day. For other Nations with less than thirty Figures have expressed almost all the Modifications of Speech, nay many the *Chinese* never heard, whereas these with an infinit number of Characters have never been able to settle their Pronunciation, or the Sense of their Words.

The Changes of Pronunciation have not prevented other Tongues from being understood.

The Experience of many Ages assures us it is impossible to fix any Pronunciation, and that it is liable to imperceptible Alterations in the Course of Time. We find the *Greek* Tongue was otherwise pronounced by the Ancients than by the Moderns; tho' we can neither discover the Time, or the Cause of this Change. We cannot doubt but that the ancient *Greeks* pronounced the B like the *Latins*, and yet they for many Ages past have been obliged to use the Conjunctive $\mu\pi$, to express the Power of that Letter, especially in exotic Names. A like Alteration has befallen the *Latin* Tongue, whose genuin Pronunciation we rather guess at than know; and by the various Ways the *Hebrew* Words and Names are written by the *Greek* Interpreters, and by the *Masorets*, we learn that the same has berided the *Hebrew* Tongue: But this great Variation has been no Hindrance to the reading of the old *Greek* and *Latin* Books and Inscriptions, or the sacred Books of the ancient *Jews*.

Several barbarous Nations, as the *Goths* and *Saxons*, who had no Characters of their own, adopted the *Greek* and the *Latin*,

tin, and therewith exprest many Sounds unknown to those two learned Idoms, which they could not have done with the *Chinese* Characters. This want of some Letters has been the Cause we have for a long time been ignorant That *Samahand*, which the *Chinese* mention as conterminous with their Country, is *Samar-kand*: But if since that Time the Missionaries have contrived an Alphabet and Syllabary for them, in the Nature of ours, they are highly to be applauded for having thereby supplied what the *Chinese* so wanted; tho' at the same Time they furnish us with an incontestable Truth of what we have been saying.

We have nothing to remark on the *Chinese* Eloquence and Poetry; to be a Judge thereof, requires a perfect Familiarity with their Tongue: *Martini* and others commend it much, the former writing That the Emperor *Ys*, who according to him reigned DCCCCXXXIX Years before *Christ*, did by his ill Conduct exasperate the Poets against him, and thereupon adding; “ * There are many Poems of their Composition extant; for the Art of Poetry is of ancient date in *China*, consisting of several sorts of Verses of different Measure, and a certain number of Letters, with five Words ranged in Order.” It is

The Chinese Poetry.

* *Multa existunt etiam nunc ex eorum Carminibus, nam & ars poetica est apud Sinas antiquissima, & varia vario metro Carmina complectitur. Ea omnia legitimo literarum numero constant, & quinque vocum ordine.*

no easy Matter to get at the Meaning of these last Words, and needless to attempt an Interpretation of them: But we are much at a Loss to conceive what Poetry can be formed out of Monosyllables, which for that Reason should have but little or no Harmony; perhaps it is kept up by the Richness and Pomp of Expression. In this we must submit to the Judgment of those who are Masters of the Tongue, and the rather as there has been no Nation so barbarous but has had its Poets, and preferred its Poetry before all others. The *Americans* have their Poetry as well as the *Barbarians* of *Afric*, the old *Gauls*, the *Saxons*, the *Goths*, and generally speaking every Nation we have ever heard of, tho' infinitely inferior to the *Chinese* in point of Civility. Nor must we wonder at this Prepossession in Favor of our own Country; for in our Days the Learned of the *North* have bestowed great Elogies on the *Runic* Poetry, the *Iselandish* and others such. *Ludolfus* out of his singular Esteem for the *Ethiopian* Tongue, admires the *Ethiopian* Verses, the *Amharic* and *Gafatic*, as our Ancestors did the Hobbling-rhymed Prose of their Romancers.

The *Arabs* make no mention of the *Chinese* Poetry as being too fond of their own.

We are not to wonder our *Arabs* make no mention of the *Chinese* Poetry, which they may have known nothing of; but if they had really understood it they would have been more backward in their Praises of it than of the *Chinese* Philosophy. For the *Arabs*, besides the Opinion they have
of

of their own Eloquence, in which they imagin they surpass all other Nations, have still a fonder Conceit of their Poetry; and indeed were we to judge of it by their number of Poems and Poets, no Nation may compare with them: Were we to collect all their Pieces of this kind, we actually know of, they would form a Library of several thousand Volumes. But they kindled not their Genius for Poetry from the *Greeks*, together with their Taste for Philosophy, Mathematics, Physic, and other Sciences; for they seem not to have known any of the old Poets, tho', according to some Authors, *Homer* was formerly translated into *Syriac*. But the *Arabs* knew so very little of him, that when they happen to mention him, which is very seldom, it is as an old Philosopher, not as a Poet. This Genius obtained in the Nation long before *Mohammedism*; they spoke in Verse at their public Meetings, in their formal Visits, and even in the Field of Battle. In the first Ages of their Empire they had an infinit number of Poems, made by the old *Arabs* of the Times of Ignorance, as they express themselves; besides many that were particularly esteemed and lodged in the Temple at *Mecca*. A few Examples from History will enable us to judge of this Matter; in the Year of the *Hejra* CLV, of *Christ* DCCLXXI, *Hist.* *Æ-*
gyp^t. *Ta-*
 rians take Notice of the Death of a famous Man, called *Abulkasan Ahmed*, sur-
 named *Rowaia*, who was honoured and
 likan.

Abulfa-
rag. Emir.
Cond.

magni-

Abulfed.
Hist. Æ-
gypt.

magnificently rewarded by the Kalif *Hisham* the Son of *Abdalmalec*, *Yazid* and *Walid*, for he lived ninety-five Years ; because of his great Skill in the *Arabesque*, and because he was particularly versed in the old Poets before *Mohammed*. Another could repeat eighty thousand Distichs of these same Poets by Heart ; this was the *Emir Asama*, who dyed in the Year DLXXXIV . But *Jasar*, the Son of *Abdallah*, who dyed in the Year CCCLXXXIV, outdid him, he could repeat one hundred thousand. Their most serious Histories are full of Verses, and yet the Rules they are made by are as hard as the *Greek* and *Latin*, which they seem to have known as little of, as of the *Chinese*. But tho' the *Chinese* were more barren of Expression and Thought than the *Arabian*, *Persian*, and *Turkish* Bards, who err from our Rules, they might not be the less valuable ; all that we have said of their Learning is not to take away from the Esteem we ought to have for them, but to reduce their Merit to its natural Bounds.

The evil
Consequen-
ces which
may attend
our high
Notions of
the Chi-
nese An-
tiquity.

The Writers of the last Age have strayed too far out of the Way, in preferring a few faint Sparks of Reason, and certain Truths veiled over with Enigma, to what has been started by all other Nations, and in offering to excuse the essential Defects of their Philosophy. These excessive Commendations might be excusable were they not productive of dangerous Consequences ; but chiefly as they tend to make

us doubt the Authority of the sacred Books, which, setting aside Religion, ought not to be compared with the *Chinese* History. Those indeed who are most tenacious for them, give them up in this respect; but by labouring all they can to prove and confirm the Antiquity of this same History, the Answers they make to Difficulties are much weaker than the Objections raised, and thus they put Weapons into the Hands of Libertins and Free-Thinkers. An Instance of this we have had in the Author of the *Preadamite System*, who tho' as is said by his Acquaintance, he was so ignorant that he scarce understood *Latin*, yet having formed a System by wresting some Passages of Scripture to his own Mind; and being informed, by some, who had more Learning than himself, of what was reported of the great Antiquity of the *Chinese*; and the same being confirmed by *Martini's* History, which appeared just at the same Time; he laid hold on it not only as a very valid Proof of his own Whims, but also of the infinit number of Years the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, and *Egyptians* reckoned, which the very Heathens themselves rejected as fabulous. He met with People who furnished him with the Memoirs in his second Dissertation, where the Subject is more amply treated; and but too true it is that many have been insnared thereby; not to become *Preadimites* indeed, but to harbor other Notions equally subversive of Religion. For these pretended Antiquities of the
Chinese

Chinese insensibly wipe away the Contempt which not only Christians but the old Philosophers have had for the *Egyptian* and *Babylonian* Traditions. On the other Hand we are told the *Persians* have Histories which go much farther back than the sacred Books; and tho superficial People, Sciolists, and those who believe they know every Thing, because they read much, do not absolutely admit these Fables, they yet suppose they must be founded upon some sort of Truth. They dive after this Truth in their wandering Imagination, but find it not, it being repugnant and foreign to what we know of the Origin of Things, revealed to the People of God, and contained in holy Writ. Now every Thing contradictory thereto, ought not only to be shrewdly mistrusted, but to be absolutely rejected as False, as well on a rational as a religious Account; for it must be allowed There is no Book so old as the Books of *Moses*; not even the *Chinese*, it being by themselves recorded That they were all burnt about two hundred Years before Christ, and that but a very small Number of them was saved.

Our Con-
descension
of no Use
towards
their Con-
version.

The Advantage the Missionaries thought to have obtained by flattering the *Chinese*, and letting them believe the most sublime Truths were in the Writings of their own Philosophers, has not always answered Expectation; this Complaisance has been more apt to swell their monstrous

monstrous Pride than to dispose them to an humble Reception of the Gospel Simplicity. The *Athenians* had at least as much Sense as the *Chinese*; we fancy no Body can prefer the Books of *Confucius* to those of *Plato* and *Aristotle*; or the *Chinese* Treatises of Physic and natural Philosophy to *Hippocrates*, *Dioscorides*, *Theophrastus* and several others; and yet when *St. Paul* preached to them he did not offer to convince them they had any Knowledge of God, but declared to them That they were Strangers to him, that they were ignorant of him; tho' at the same time he might have proved to them that their old Poets, and greatest Philosophers had owned a *Supreme Being*, much clearer than those who have undertaken to demonstrate *Thien* and *Xanti* to mean the same *Sovereign Entity*. For the old Philosophers at least, and even the Body of the People had some confused Idea of God, which ever obtained, notwithstanding the Cloud of Fables that interposed: But nothing can be added to what has already been said upon this Subject. what the first Authors of Accounts and Histories of *China*, cited as from Books of that Country, was implicitly believed by many learned Men; for as they knew nothing of the Tongue and Books of the Country, they were of Course to rely on those who had made it their particular Study; and others who since that time have applyed to the same, have

r power-

powerfully asserted what the first had advanced. The Point was of immediate relation to the Missionaries, as they had taken on them to propagate the Faith; but the Learned who were not so immediately concerned look'd upon the Thing as a Curiosity that might help them to some Knowledge of those remote Parts; whence *Golius* and *Vossius* who had frequent Discourse with *Martini*, while he staid in *Holland* to print his *Chinese Atlas*, without any Scruple received all he told them about *China*. As for *Golius*, he applyed what he heard to the Improvement of Geography and Explanation of the Cycles, *Greaves* had given us by Translating the Original of *Ulug Beig*; but *Vossius* who was quite fond of the Marvellous, did not confine himself to what he had from *Martini*; he went on farther, he laid it down as a certain Fact, that the *Chinese History* was much elder than the Books of *Moses*, which the Missionaries never advanced; on the contrary, it is what they have endeavored to refute; tho' by very weak Arguments, it must be owned, while they supposed the *Chinese History* to be as ancient as they gave out. *Vossius* did not trouble his Head about the Consequences that might attend his Assertion he did not perceive what a Handle it might be made by Free-Thinkers and Libertins, but at once declares for the Antiquity of the *Chinese Books*: But, contrary to the common Custom of the Learned,

Learned, he affected to quote but little, especially when he was upon some new Paradox, tho' upon such Occasions, it is more than ever incumbent on the Party to call up Witnesses. It hapned indeed he had none to call but *Martini*, who in the Year MDCL published the first Decade of his *History of China*. This Author himself confesses The *Chinese* carry their History much higher; and when he allows the rest to be fabulous, he only speaks for himself, not for the *Chinese*, who admit the whole as equally authentic, except they have been undeceived by the Missionaries. Before *Martini*, we had some Summary of their Antiquities, extracted from Books that are cited, but whose Falseness is perceived at first Sight: This sufficed to raise an equal doubt as to the one and the other, and no Man will ever be able to decide the Matter without understanding the Tongue, and actually perusing the Books, which was not *Vossius's* Case. He could then only form his judgment by what he was told by Fath. *Martini*, who never pretended That the *Chinese* Books were older than *Moses*. On the contrary, he has endeavored to evince That by recurring to the Chronology of the Septuagint we may reconcile the *Chinese* History with the Scripture, which was the least of *Vossius's* Care. This his Inadvertency is of such a Nature as to sap the Foundations of Religion; which has induced us to be somewhat

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dis-

diffuse in our Remarks thereon, to the end that no one may be prepossessed by the Authority of a Learned Man who pronounced upon he knew not what, who in his very Outset is guilty of a gross Mistake upon the Word *Sina*, averring the *Portuguese* to be the first who so called the People he would have to be called *Seres*. Our two *Arabs* use the Word *Sin*; they were there in the ninth Century, and the *Portuguese* went not to *China* till the sixteenth. Now they called the People of this vast Empire by the Name of *Sin*; because the *Persians* and *Tartars* had so called them, Ages before the *Portuguese* conducted their Fleets to the *Indies*.

F I N I S.



INDEX

THE INDEX.

N. B. There being two Chains of Numbers in this Book, the Reader is desired to take Notice That the Pages of the first are distinguished by the letter (*a*) and of the second by (*b*).

A

A *Aron Rashid, or Aaron King of Persia, his Conquests and Power, 23. b*

Abaka Khan, Emperor of the Tartars sends to visit the holy Places at Jerusalem, 122. b

Abundance of all Necessaries in
China, 60. *b*

*Adam, the Print of his Foot
on Mount Rabun, 3. a, 8. b*

Adultery, how punished in *Chi-
na*, 45. *a*

Age of the World, 56. *a*

Various Opinions concerning it.

ibid

*Almamun, the Son of Aaron
Rasbid, orders the Greek
Books to be translated, 23. b*

Alms, of the Emperors of China, 58.6

Alnian, [the Island of] 3. *a*

Ambergreese, its various reputed
Origins, 64. b, & seq.

Extraordinary Lumps of it.

66. b

Of three forts, 67. b

A fourth font of it, 94.6

A very extraordinary Quantity of it, 2. a, 4. b

Not found in the River Jordan, 67. b

Amusements and Games of the
Indians. 84. a

Andaman [the Sea of] 4. a

Animals, the manner of killing them in *India* and *China*,

35. a

Anthropophagites, 4, 12. a. 5, 6. 6

Arabs [the], knew little more
than the Maritim Places in

China, 135. b

Their Ignorance of the true
State of *China* proved by

their Geographers, 136. 6

Went first to *China* by Sea,

141.6

Whether they had the use
of the Compass before us;

142. 6

Proofs to the contrary, 143. *b*

Whether they had the Com-

pass from the Chinese, 145 .b

Bad Reckoners at Sea, 149, *b*

Why no deeper skilled in the

Art of Navigation, 150. b

I N D E X.

- attempted no great Things
at Sea, 151. *b*
navigation of no Use to
them. *ibid.*
made no great Discoveries
at Sea. 157. *b*
their Colonies in *Afric* and
the *Indies*, 159. *b*
went to *China* both by Sea
and Land, 180. *b*
did not spread their Doctrin
there, *ibid.*
were well versed in the Ma-
thematics, 224. *b*
their Poetry, 252. *b*
Astronomers the *Arabian* and
Persian, 222. *b*
[The *Chinese*] not to com-
pare with the *Greeks* and
Arabians, 221. 224. 225. *b*
Astronomy of the *Chinese*, 211. *b*
its Antiquity, 211. *b*
- B** *Aichu*, a *Chinese* Officer,
revolts, 41. *a*
takes and destroys *Cansu*,
ibid.
kills 120,000 Men exclusive
of the *Chinese*, 42. *a*
possesses himself of several
other Cities, *ibid.*
Balhara, an Appellative com-
mon to a Succession of Kings
15. *b*
Balhara, a mighty Prince in
the *Indies*; *ibid.* 24. *b*. & seq,
fond of the *Arabs*, 15. *a*, 24. *b*
his Country begins on the
Coast of *Kamkam*, 25. *b*
a Title that suits with the
Samorin Emperor of the
Indies 26. *b*
Bambooning, the usual Punish-
ment inflicted in *China*
52. *b*
- Bankrupts, how treated in *Chi-
na*, 27. *a*
Baptism, in the sixth Column
of the *Chinese* and *Syriac* In-
scription, 95. *b*
Barygaza, [the City of] may
have been the Seat of the
Balhara, 25. *a*
Bassora or *Bafra*, the Princi-
pal Scale for the Merchants
of the Red-Sea and other
Parts, 14. *b*
Bell, of the Imperial Palace,
70. *a*
they were used to ring in
China to demand Justice of
the Governors, 49. *b*
Benares, a City and kind of
Univerfity belonging to the
Bramins, 34. *b*
Barid, Post-horses in *China*,
51. *b*
Betuna, the Name of a Place
where Water is to be had,
10. *a*. 16, 17. *b*
Biju, or *Bibu* or *Penju*, a City
and Seat of the Emperor of
China, according to *Abulfe-
da* 44. *b*
Bishops, their Translation, 118. *b*
Bodies [dead] burnt in the *In-
dies*, 31. *a*
Books, of the *Chinese*, their
Antiquity, 245. *b*
Hebrew, of the *Jews* in
Persia, 198. *b*
Boutan. a Kingdom which at
present drives the greatest
Trade with Musk, 72. *b*
Bramins, or *Indian* Doctors,
86. *a*, 34. *b*
Bread-Corn, used by the *Chi-
nese*, not by the *Indians*, 34. *a*
Buildings of *China*, 48. *a*, 50. *b*
Of

I N D E X.

- of the *Chinese* and *Indians*, 34. *a*
- Burials, of the *Chinese*, 21. *a*
- C
- C***afres*, dispossessed of the Coast of *Afric*, 164. *b*
- Calabar*, the Name of a Place beyond the *Indies*, 10. *a*, 15. *b*
- Calicut*, a City, the Residence of the Emperors of the *Indies*, 24. *b*
- the most ancient Settlement the *Mohammedans* had, in the *Indies*, 26. *b*
- Calendar*, the Ignorance of the *Chinese* in what concerned theirs, 212. *b*
- Cansu*, a Sea-Port of *China*, the Place of Refort for the *Arabian* Shipping 14, 11. *a*
42. *b*
- the times it Ebbs and Flows in this Port, 11. *a*
- Capacity of the *Chinese* not to be gathered from a few fine Sayings, 235. *b*
- Caravanfera's*, built out of Devotion, 35. *b*
- Cashgar*, the usual way the *Mohammedans* took for *China*, 129. *b*
- Catholic*, a Title added to that of Patriarch in the *Chinese* Inscription, 88. *b*
- Ceremonies, and Customs of the *Christians* taken notice of in the *Chinese* Inscription, 96. *b*
- the Funeral Ceremonies of the *Chinese* ridiculous, and unbecoming of Philosophers, 231. *b*
- the civil Ceremonies of the *Chinese*, reckoned by them to be constituent Parts of Virtue, 234. *b*
- they produce Justice and the other Virtues, 235. *b*
- Ceylon* or *Sarandib*, 2. *a*
- taken by some to be the *Taprobana* of the ancients, 7. *b*
- by others for *Sumatra*, 9. *b*
- Chardin* [Sir *John*] what he thinks of the first Invention of the Compass 146. *b*
- Charts for Sea Use, and others among the Orientals, 156. *b*
- Chemistry, the *Chinese* much addicted to it, 236. *b*
- China*, more populous but less in extent than the *Indies*, 36. *a*
- a pleasant Country, 37. *a*
- divided into many Principalities 44. *a*
- Chinese* [the] are more handsom than the *Indians* 38. *a*
- dress in Silk, 13. *a*
- feed upon Rice, *ibid.*
- fond of Gaming, 32. *a*
20. *b*
- not addicted to Wine, 32. *a*
22. *b*
- their Wars with their Neighbours, 33. *a*
- they all learn to read and write, 22. *a* 58. *b*
- very expert Mechanics, 50. *a*
- ignorant of the Arts that depend on the Mathematics, 225. *b*
- not so well versed in the Metaphysics and Philosophy as the old Philosophers, 207. *b*
- even their Fables not their own, *ibid.*
- what they think of the Origin of the World. 204. *b*
- a 4
- their

I N D E X.

- their two Principles, 205. *b*
 the Respect they pay to
 their Emperor and Kings
 when they meet them, 53. *b*
 the dangerous Consequen-
 ces of being Excessive in
 our Notions of their Anti-
 quity, 254. *b*
Chorassan, a Province contermi-
 nous with *China*, 75. *a*
Christians did not fly *Persia* to
 avoid the Persecution of the
Arabs, 111. *b*
 among the *Tartars*, 177. *b*
 those of the East did not
 elect their Patriarchs with-
 out the Consent of the *Mo-*
hammedan Prince, 193. *b*
 the Difference between the
 Patriarchs and the *Jewish*
 Chiefs, in the East, 194. *b*
Christianity, no Proof that it
 had made its Way into *Chi-*
na before the Seventh Cen-
 tury, 82. *b*
 that it had Footing in *China*
 by the Year 636. proved
 by an Inscription, 83. *b*
 how long it lasted in *Chi-*
na, 120. *b*
Chronology, of the *Chinese*,
 according to their Cycles
 211. *b*
 is false, 214. *b*
 without any fixed beginning
 215. *b*
 hard to be reconciled with
 Scripture, 216. *b*
 the *Chinese* Chronological
 Tables of our time, are
 more the Work of the
 Europeans than of the *Chi-*
nese, 219. *b*
 yet they are defective, *ibid.*
 consequence thence to be
 deduced. 221. *b*
Cities, or Towns, a great num-
 of them in *China*, 19. *a*
Cleanliness, Vide Neatness.
Climate of *China*, more healthy
 than that of the *Indies*, 37. *a*
Coco-nut Tree, alone supplies
 wherewith not only to build
 a Ship, but to load her when
 she is compleated, 2. 89. *a*
 10, 75. *b*
 the Nut it self and its Vir-
 tues. *ibid.*
Cocks, the custom of Fight-
 ing them, 84. *a*, 35. *b*
Combination Table of the *Chi-*
nese, 206. *b*
Commerce, between *Chorassan*
 and *China* by Land, 140. *b*
Communication of the Ocean
 with the Mediterranean 59. *a*
 30. *b*
Confucius, what we are to think
 of his Morality, 227. *b*
 most of his Sentences in the
 old Gnomics, 228. *b*
Conjectures, needless as to the
 the Names of some Places in
 the *Indies*. 26. *b*
Conkan or *Kamkam*, the Pro-
 vince where the *Balbala*
 must have kept his Court,
 25. *b*
Cordiliere, of the Kingdom of
 the *Balbala*, how far its
 Mountains stretched, *ibid.*
Cotbat, or Sermon of the *Imams*,
 or Rectors of *Moschs*, 7, *a*
 the Person in whose Name it
 was delivored, thereby ac-
 knowledged Supreme, 19. 6
 Its Origin, 21. *b*
 The Design of it, *ibid.*
 could

I N D E X

- could not be canonically performed without a Mission from the Prince. 22. *b*
Abulfeda, cited thereupon, 44. *b*
Cumdan, the City where the Emperor of *China* kept his Court, 58. *a*
 Its Situation uncertain. 43. *b*
 Must have been *Nankin*, *ibid.*
Cungquon and *Yeli*, Royal Inns, a Day distant from each other in *China*, 52. *b*
 Customs, of the *Chinese*, 78. *a*
 Cycles, of the *Chinese* cannot be so ancient as imagined 217. *b*
 The Date they are deduced from, disagrees with what the *Chinese* themselves hold, 218. *b*
 Position of some Provinces of the *Indies*, 26. *b*
 Couplet [Fath. *Philip*] what he says of the Origin of the Gospel in *China*, 99. *b*
 Couriers, on Foot and on Horse-Back in *China*, 51. *b*
 Creation of the World explained in the second and third Column of the *Chinese* Inscription. 92. *b*
 D.
Debauchery of the *Chinese* 34. *a* 29. *b*
 Of the *Indians* 85. *a*
 Deluge, Universal, 54. *a*
Dervises and Preachers of the *Indies*, 90. *a*
 Desarts, many in the *Indies*, few in *China*, 38. *a*
 Devotion, of a particular Sort, among the *Indians*, 89. *a*
 Dishes and Plates, of the Co-co-nut Leaf, 99. *a*
 Disorders, consequent to the Civil Wars in *China*, 44. *a*
 Drams, *Thartarian* Drams, 15. *a*, 26. *b*
 Drink, the *Chinese* make of Rice, 13. *a*
 Drums, Ensigns of Dignity peculiar to cities in *China*, 28. *b*
 Beaten in all the Cities of *China*, to tell the hour of the Day and Night. 20. *a*
 E
EAr-rings, the Kings of the *Indies* wear them 98. *a*
 Egg, the Fable of the *Chinese* Egg, 205. *b*
 Elephants, in some Provinces of *China*. 61. *b*
 Abhorred by the *Chinese*, 47. *a*
 Emperor of *China*, 24. *a*
 retires from his Capital, 42. *a*
 returns thither again, 43. *a*
 Eucharist [the] considered as it relates to the *Chinese* Inscription, 97. *b*
 Eunuchs, the chief Officers in *China*, 48. *a*
 their Procession when they appear, 49. *a*
 their Habit, *Ibid.*
 they enjoy the greatest Posts in *China*, 48. *b*
 cut by their own Fathers, *Ibid.*
 Examination [the] of the Substance of the *Chinese* Inscription, 90. *b*
 Existence [the] of God settled in the first Article of the *Chinese* Inscription, 91. *b*
 Extent of *China* but little known, 41. *b*
 Fish,

I N D E X

F.
FISH, the Flying-Fish, 15. a. 18. b
 that petrifies, *Ibid.*
 that has a Horn, 62. b
 Flesh [human] exposed to public Sale in *China*, 44. a
 Form, [the] of the Cities in *China*, 48. b
 Fruits, of *China*, 13. a
 of the *Indies* and of *China*, 36. a
 Funeral Rites and Mourning of the *Chinese*, 21. a
 Of the King of *Sarandib*, 31. a
 Fury, for Gaming, 85. a
 G.
G A B *Sarandib*, 84. a
Government of the *Chinese*, 45. b
 Governors, of Cities in *China*, 23. a
Genii, or Guardian - Angels, H. 208. b
Hierarchy, a new Form of it set up by the Nestorians, 11. b
Hitrango, a Kingdom of the *Indies*, 18. a
Haangcioqu, a Flying-Fish, 18. b
 Homicide, *vid.* Murder,
 Horses, few in *India*, more in *China*, 37. a
 Human Flesh, exposed to public Sale in *China*, 44. a
 I.
Idolatry [the] of the *Chinese*, 35. a
 Idol [the] of *Multan*, 88. a
 Jesus Christ, 55. a
 Jews, and other Sect in the Isle of *Sarandib*, 84. a
 not easy to say when they

first went to *China*, 183. b
 of *Caifamsu*, 185. b
 would have made a Jesuit their *Kakam* in *China*, 186. b
 where they are in no great Number: 186. b
 the Conformity of their Characters, with the *Hebrew* Characters with us. 188. b
 at what Time they may have first made their Way into *China*, 189. b
 whole Nations of them in *Arabia* before *Mohammedism*, *Ibid.*
 persecuted by the Christian Emperors, *Ibid.*
 retire into the East, and are kindly used by the *Mohammedans*, *Ibid.*
 by what Means they made themselves considerable, 190. b
 pretend to have wherewithal to elude *Jacob's* Prophecy, *The Scepter*, &c. 191. b
 they persist in their Notion by the Discovery made of *Prestor John*, *Ibid.*
 are very numerous in the East, 192. b
 their Privileges, 190. b
 their Writings of no Use to inform us how they first penetrated the East, and at length to *China*, 185. b
 in *Persia*, they have Books rejected by the others. 198. b
 they got to, and spread in *China* as elsewhere, 199. b
 Imposts and Revenues of the Emperor of *China*, 24. a
 29. a 54. b
 Incarn-

I. N D E X.

Incarnation [the] of Christ,
in the fourth Column of the
Chinese Inscription, 92. *b*
Indies [the] more vast, but less
populous than *China*, 36. *a*
Indians, certain of them that
eat alone, 98. *a*
certain of them that burn
themselves when a King
dies, 79. *a*
in what Manner they burn
themselves, 80. *a*
Inscription [the *Chinese* and
Syriac] which proves Chri-
stianity to have been preached
in *China* before the Year 636,
105. *b*
explanation of it, 83. *b*
confined to the Mission of 636,
and to the Progress of Chri-
tianity thence in the same
Country, 106. *b*
Interments of the *Chinese*, 21. *a*
Inventions attributed to the
Chinese, 38. *a*
Isles of *Sila*, *ibid.*
what the Inhabitants there
think of the Presents they
send to the Emperor of
China, *Ibid.*
One thousand nine hundred,
Islands between the Sea of
Harkand and the Sea of
Delarowwi, 1. *a*
these governed by a Queen,
with absolute Sway, 2. *a* 3. *b*
Isle [unknown] where are
Mines of Silver, 5. *a*
[*Feminine*] where Men can
live but three Months of
the Year, 12. *b*
[*Masculin*] where no Wo-
men are, 9. *a*, 12. *b*
Judges, of private Causes in

China and the *Indies*, 35. *a*
Judge [the Supreme] in *China*
in what Manner promoted,
73. *a*
Justice, how distributed in *Chi-
na*, 26. *a*

K.

KADI of the *Mohamme-
dans* in *China*, 7. *a*, 19. *b*
at *Canfu* in particular, 7. *a*
Kadrang, a Place where Water
is to be had, 10. *a*, 17. *b*
Kanuge, the Name of a King
and a City in the *Indies*,
34. *b*
Karkandan, *Vid.* Unicorn,
17. *a*, 61. *b*
Kashbin, a Kingdom of the *In-
dies*, 18. *a*
Kashenai, a Mountain with
Mines of Silver, 5. *a*
Kings, the *Chinese* acknowledge
four principal Kings in the
World, 14. *a*
the Emperor of *China* al-
lows but five great Ones,
53. *a*
Kings that submit to their Wives,
3. *b*
Komar, the Ambition of a
young Prince of that Coun-
try, 64. *a*

L.

Language [the *Chinese*]
very defective, 248. *b*
Laws of *Sarandib*, 83. *a*
Learning, of the *Chinese*, what
the *Arabian* Author pro-
nounces thereof, 36. *a*, 200. *b*
what *Vossius* advances of the
same, 200. *b*
Letters [*Chinese*] 243. *b*
Letz

I N D E X.

Letters, the Emperor of *China's*
carried by Post-Horses, 77. *a*
Lyons, none in *China*, 61. *b*

M.

M *A B E D*, a Kingdom of
the *Indies*, 19. *a*
Mabed [the People] send Em-
bassies to the Emperor of
China, *Ibid.*
Madu, Province of *China*, 75. *a*
Maldives, the Isles so called; 1. *a*
Marriages of the *Chinese* and
Indians, 33. *a*, 5. *b*
of the *Chinese* different from
the foregoing, 78. *a*
Marriage, not allowed till an
Enemy had been slain, 3. *a*
Mascat, a City of *Oman*, 8. *a*
14. *b*
Mathematics, the *Arabs* well
versed therein, 224. *b*
Meat, set before the Dead in
China, 22. *a*, 40. *a*
Medicin, *Vide* Physic
Medicines publickly rated in
China, 29. *a*
Mebrage [the] King of *Za-*
page, wars upon the King
of *Komar*, and possesses him-
self of his Kingdom, 63. *a*
Men, who devote themselves in
the *Indies*, and elsewhere,
79. *a* 33. *b*
Merchants, how used in *China*,
21. *a* 57. *b* 59. *b*
Metaphysics, of the *Chinese*,
202. *b*
Metempsychosis, [the] interior,
32. *b*
exterior, *Ibid.*
believed in the *Indies*, 69. *a*
of the *Chinese*, 208. *b*
Metropolis of *China*, 117. *b*

Metropolitan of *China*, more
ancient than of the *Indies*,
Ibid.
of *China* extinct, 119. *b*
Metropolitans, new ones erected
by the Nestorians, 116. *b*
placed according to Seniority,
117. *b*
Mines of Silver in an un-
known Isle, 5. *a*
of precious Stones in the
Island of *Sarandib*, 83. *a*
Missionaries, the first that went
to *China* travelled by Land,
119. *b*
Mohammed, 55. *a*
Mohammedans, an Inquiry into
the Time they first went to
China, 124. *b*
and how, 125. *b*
extent of their Empire in
the third Century of the
Hejra, 129. *b*
their Dominions extended to
the Frontiers of *China*, *Ibid.*
learned in the Sciences and
fine Arts, 23. *b*
their Travels served them in-
stead of a regular Course of
Study, 134. *b*
their greatest Naval Arma-
ment, 158. *b*
their Settlements upon the
Coast of *Afric*, 160. *b*
the Cities they built on the
same Coast, 162. *b*
they drive the *Cafres* from
the Coast, 164. *b*
their Settlements on the
Coasts of *India*, *Ibid.*
they insinuated themselves
with the *Indians*, under
Pretences of Trade, 165. *b*
the four Ways whereby they
gained

I N D E X.

- gained footing there, 166. *b*
 their Settlements there chiefly
 owing to Trade and Reli-
 gion, 168. *b*
 the Severity of the *Chinese*
 Laws prevented them from
 spreading their Doctrin in
China, 169. *b*
 in what Manner they propa-
 gated their Faith, *Ibid.*
 the Difference between their
 Missions, and those of the
 Christians, 173. *b*
 in what manner they got
 footing in *China*, 174. *b*
 their Number in *China*, 181. *b*
Mohammedism, its Rise. 170. *b*
 not propagated by Disputa-
 tion and Instruction, 171. *b*
 the *Arabs* never made a stir
 about it, where they were
 weakest, *Ibid.*
 the Methods they took to
 spread it, 171. *b*
 not embraced by the *Indi-*
ans, 37. *a*
 little known among the *Tar-*
tars before *Jenghiz Khan*,
 133. *b*
 Money, Shells pass for such in
 the *Indies*, 17. *a*
 the Copper Coin of *China*,
 20. *a*. 47. *a*
 its Substance, Form and Va-
 lue, 55. *b*
 Morality of the *Chinese*, 226. *b*
 destitute of Principles, 239. *b*
 in what it consists, 229. *b*
Morfs, a horned Fish, 62. *b*
Moses, 55. *a*
 Mourning, the Manner of it
 among the *Chinese*, 57. *b*
Mujat, a Kingdom of the *In-*
dies, 18. *a*
- Muljan*, an Island, 12. *a*
Muller his mistake about the
Chinese Inscription, 89. *b*
 promises a work against the
 real Presence, 98. *b*
 Murder, how punished in *Chi-*
na. 45. *a*
Muse, a Description of the
 Creature that affords it, 68. *b*
 the most excellent Sort of it,
 70. *b*
 Places where it is particular-
 ly found. 71. *a*
 the *Tibetian* better than the
Chinese, 76. *a*
 how generated, *Ibid.*
 the form of the Creature. 77. *a*
 Mysteries of the Anunciation,
 the Adoration of Kings, and
 other Matters in the *Chinese*
 Inscription, 92. *b*
- N.
- Nabalwanah*, the Seat of
 the *Balbara*, 24. *b*
 Name, of *China*, various Opi-
 nions concerning it, 40. *b*
 Names, several peculiar to the
 Emperor of *China*, 46. *b*
 of the Ecclesiastics in the
Chinese Inscription, 90. *b*
Narbwal, a Fish, its Teeth,
 63. *b*
 Navigation of the *Siraf* Ships,
 93. *a*
 long Voyages, why not at-
 tempted by the *Mohammedan*
 Provinces, 151. *b*
 of the *Chinese*, 153. *b*
 Neatness more minded by the
Indians than the *Chinese*, 36. *a*
Nestorians protected by the *Ka-*
lis at *Bagdad*, 111. *b*
 sent Missionaries to *China*,
 113. *b*
Ngah,

I N D E X.

- N**oah, 54. *a*
 Number of the Cities in *China*, 44. *b*
- O.
- O**bservations on the Unicorn, 61. *b*
 and his several kinds. *Ibid.*
Olacs, running Footmen, 51. *b*
 Old People in *India* desire to be put out of the World, 82. *a*
Olopuen, the first Preacher of the Gospel in *China*, 99. *b*
 he was a *Syrian*, and of the same Church with those who ordered the *Chinese* Inscription, 107. *b*
 Opinions, particular Opinions of the *Indians*. 8. *a*
 Orientals, their Geographers knew but little of the Countries of the *Upper Asia*, 137. *b*
 P.
- P**asses, for Travellers, 25. *a*
 Patriarch, mentioned in the *Chinese* Inscription, 87. *b*
 Patriarchs, the *Nestorian* acknowledged supreme in *China*, 108. *b*
 a Digression on this Head, and concerning the *Chinese* Inscription, *ibid.*
 of *Antioch*, never sent any Missions to *China*. 119. *b*
 Penitents, of the *Indies*, 32. *b*
 87. *a*. 34. *b*.
 Pearls. 95. *a*
 their Formation, 96. *a*
 several opinions upon this Subject, *ibid.*
 the Story of a Pearl, 27. *a*
 Philosophy, at what time cultivated by the *Arabs*, 201. *b*
 the *Chinese*, wants Method, 233. *b*
 our Abridgments admired by the *Chinese*, 268. *b*
 Physic, how far the *Chinese* are skilled therein. 209. *b*
 that and Philosophy cultivated by the *Indians*, 37. *a*
 Piety, what the *Chinese* mean by that recommended in the Books of *Confucius*, 230. *b*
 toward Parents, 231. *b*
 Plates and Dishes of the Coconut Leaf. 99. *a*
 Poetry of the *Chinese*, 238. *b*
 of the *Arabs* *ibid.*
 Politics, of the *Chinese*, 238. *b*
 Poll Tax, in *China*, 24. *a*. 29. *b*.
 Porcelane of *China*. 21. *a*. 56. *b*.
 Portuguese, went first to *China*, 123. *b*
 Precepts, religious Precepts of the *Indians*, 87. *a*
 Prisoners in the *Indies*, how treated the 7 first Days. 35. *a*
 Procession, and manner how the Emperor and Kings or Governors, &c. appear in *China*. 49. *a*. 53. *b*
 Proofs by boiling Water, &c. *Vide* Tryals.
 Prophets, of the *Indians*. 56. *a*
 Q.
- Q**uestions the Emperor of *China* asked of the *Arab*, *Ebn Wabab*. 52. *a*
 R.
- R**AHMI, one of the Kings of the *Indies*. 16. *a*
 Rains, great and frequent in the *Indies*, and in *China*, 38. *a*
 86. *a*
Ramni, the Island of *Ramni*, 3. *a*.
 Rarities, *Vide* Wonders.
 Remarks upon the Families that have reigned in *China*, 47. *b*
 Re.

I N D E X.

- Remedies, *Vide Medicines.*
 Revenues, of the Emperor of
 China, 25. *a*
 Revolution, in *China*, 41. *a*
 Rout, *Vide Course.*
 Rout, *Vide Way.*
 Rout, *Kircher* makes *St. Thomas* to have held from the
 Indies to *China*, 102. *b*
 S.
S A M A R K A N D, the Ca-
 pital of the *Sogd.* 131. *b*
Samorin, Emperor of the *In-*
 dies resided at *Calicut*, 36 *b*
Sandarfulat, an Isle where is
 fresh Water. 11. *a*
Sarandib, or *Ceylon*. 2. *a*
 an Island of the *Indies.* 83. *a*
Sanji, or *Caochi*, the Sea of *Co-*
 chinchina, 11. *a* 17. *b*
 Sciences [the] unknown to the
 Chinese, 36 *a*
 Science, *Vide Learning*
 Schools in *China* maintained at
 the public Charge, 29. *a*
 Sea of *Harkand*, 1. *a* 1. *b*
 Seas, several Seas. 92. *a*
 Sects, three in *China* that dis-
 agree about the manner of
 Worship, 32. *b*
 Chinese, believe in nothing
 after Death. *ibid.*
Senef, a Place where Water is
 to be had, 10 *a*
 Sentinels, *Vide Watch*
 Ships built in the *Indies*, 60. *a*
 Shells, pass for money in the
 Indies, and other parts. 17. *a*
 4. *b*
 Signals, several to demand Au-
 dience in *China*, 49. *b*
 Silk, the common wear in *Chi-*
 na, 13. *a*
 Simples, the *Chinese* skilled
 therein, 210. *b*
Siraf, a Sea Port in the Gulf of
 of *Persia*, 8. *a* 14. *b*
Socotra, [the Isle of] 91. *a*
 Most of its Inhabitants are
 Christians, 37. *b*
 Alexander the Great, sent a
 Greek Colony thither, 91. *a*
 Soldiers, a great Number of
 them in *China*, 37. *a*
 Serve in the *Indies* at their
 own Expence, *ibid.*
Sonna, made up of traditionary
 Stories, 92. *a*, 37. *b*
 Story, a remarkable one of an
 Indian, 81. *a*
 of an *Arabian Merchant*, 69. *a*
 of a Pearl, 97. *a*
 Succession of Families, in the
 same Employs, 32. *a*
 Superstition of the *Indians* and
 Chinese, 35. *a*
 Synagogues at *Hamcheu* and
 elsewhere, 185. *b*
Syrians, the first Missionaries
 that went to *China*, 103. *b*
 Different Communion of
 them, 104. *b*

T

T A F E K, a Kingdom, 16 *a*
Tagazgaz, a Country be-
 yond the Continent of *China*,
 38. *a*
Tagazgaz, (the King of) in *Tur-*
 kestan, assists the Emperor of
 China against *Baichu*. 43 *a*
 Tea, Description of the Shrub
 itself, 75. *b*
 the *Chinese* have used it a
 long time, 73. *b*
 Theft, how punished in the *In-*
 dies and *China*, 34. *a*, 45. *a*
 the most exquisite sort of it.
 74. *b*
 Thieves in *India*, very despe-
 rate, 82. *a*

I N D E X.

- Thomas** (St.) whether or no he preached the Gospel in *China*, 77. *b*
 what late Authors say concerning it, much to be doubted, 80. *b*
 preached in the *Indies*, 79. *b*
 the *Chinese* History says nothing of his having been in *China*, 81. *b*
- Tides**, it Ebbs and Flows remarkably at *Cansu*, 11. *a*
- Titles**, or Names of the Governors of Provinces, of great and small Cities, of the Judges and Magistrates of *China*, 22. *a*. 46. *b*. 48. *b*
- Tomb** of St. *Thomas*, 17. *b*
- Towns**. *Vide* Cities.
 many in *China*, few in the *Indies*, 37. *a*
- Translations**, [*Persian*] of the Holy Scripture, 196. *b*
- Trumpets**, sounded at the four Gates of each *Chinese* City, at certain Hours of the Day and the Night, 20. *a*
 Ensigns of Dignity peculiar to the Cities in *Ebjza*, 47. *b*
- Tryal**, by boiling Water, 31. *a*
 by red hot Iron. 30. *a*, 27. *b*
 the like Customary in *Europe*, 27. *b*
 not unknown to the Ancients *ibid.*
- several Sorts thereof in the *Indies*, and elsewhere, 28. *b*
- Turks**, came late into *Mohamedism*, 133. *b*
- V.**
- V**arnish the *Chinese* use, 48. *a*
 Unicorn, his Shape, his Cry, 17. 18. *a*
 in *Ethiopia*, 61. *b*
 Volcano near *Zabage*, and in other Places of the *Indies*, 12. *a*. 18. *b*
- Voyage** of an *Arabian* to *China*, 51. *a*
 his Discourse with the Emperor, 52. *a*
- W.**
- W**all, [the great] of *China*, 137. *b*
- Watch** against Fires in *China*, 51. *b*
- Water-spout** infests the Sea of *Andaman*, 51. *a*
- Way** to *China* by Land, very impracticable to the *Mohamedans*, 132. *b*
- Whale**, his Rib used in Old Buildings, 95. *a*
 Oil or Train. *ibid.*
- Women**, an Island where there are none, 9. *a*
 burn themselves in *India*, 33. *a*
 prostitute themselves in *China*, 46. *a*
 Devote themselves in *Pagods*, 88. *a*. 35. *b*
- Wonders** [Fabulous] of the *Pseudo Callisthenes*, 136. *b*
- Writing**, the *Chinese* way of Writing very imperfect. 247. *b*
- X.**
- X**ekia, born 8000 times according to the *Chinese* Metempsychosis. 32. *b*
- Y.**
- Y**vu, Emperor of *China*, very ready to give Audience, 49. *b*
- Z.**
- Z**apage. a Province opposite to *China*, 60. *a*
 A Description of it, and its King. 61. *a*
 Remarkables of this Country, *ib.*
- Zinges**, or *Neroes*, their Country of a vast extenr. 89. *a*